THE INTERNATIONAL Socialist Review



THE HOLD UP MAN
By Clarence S. Darrow
FEBRUARY - 1909

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The Dream of Debs

By JACK LONDON

(Concluded)



HE days came and went, and for a time it was a humdrum time. Nothing happened. The edge of excitement had become blunted. The streets were not so crowded. The working class did not come up town any more to see how we were taking the strike. And there were not so many automobiles running around. The repair shops and garages were closed, and whenever a machine broke down it went out of commission. The clutch on mine broke, and love nor money could not get it repaired. Like the rest, I now was walking. San Francisco lay dead, and we did not know what was happening over the rest of the country. But from the very fact that we did not know we could conclude only that the rest of the country lay as dead as San Francisco. From time to time the city was placarded with the proclamations of organized labor—these had been printed months before and evidenced how thoroughly the I. L. W. had prepared for the strike. Every detail had been worked out long in advance. No violence had occurred as yet, with the exception of the shooting of a few wire-cutters by the soldiers, but the people of the slums were starving and growing ominously restless.

The business men, the millionaires, and the professional class held meetings and passed proclamations, but there was no way of making the proclamations public. They could not even get them printed. One result of these meetings, however, was that General Folsom was persuaded into taking military possession of the wholesale houses and of all the flour, grain and food warehouses. It was high time, for suffering was becoming

acute in the homes of the rich, and bread-lines were necessary. I know that my servants were beginning to draw long faces, and it was amazing—the hole they made in my stock of provisions. In fact, as I afterward surmised, each servant was stealing from me and secreting a private stock of provisions for himself.

But with the formation of the bread-lines came new troubles. There was only so much of a food reserve in San Francisco, and at the best it could not last long. Organized labor. we knew, had its private supplies; nevertheless, the whole working class joined the bread-lines. As a result, the provisions General Folsom had taken possession of diminished with perilous rapidity. How were the soldiers to distinguish between a shabby middle-class man, a member of the I. L. W., or a slum-dweller? The first and the last had to be fed, but the soldiers did not know all the I. L. W. men in the city, much less the wives and sons and daughters of the I. L. W. men. The employers helping, a few of the known union men were flung out of the bread-lines; but that amounted to nothing. To make matters worse, the government tugs that had been hauling food from the army depots on Mare Island to Angel Island found no more food to haul. The soldiers now received their rations from the confiscated provisions, and they received them first.

The beginning of the end was in sight. Violence was beginning to show its awful face. Law and order were passing away, and passing away, I must confess, among the slum people and the upper classes. Organized labor still maintained perfect order. It could well afford to—it had plenty to eat. I remember the afternoon at the Club when I caught Halstead and Brentwood whispering in a corner. They took me in on the venture. Brentwood's machine was still in running order, and they were going out cow-stealing. Halstead had a long butcher-knife and a cleaver. We went out to the outskirts of the city. Here and there were cows grazing, but always they were guarded by their owners. We pursued our quest, following along the fringe of the city to the east, and on the hills near Hunter's Point we came upon a cow guarded by a little girl. There was also a young calf with the cow. We wasted no time on preliminaries. The little girl ran away screaming, while we slaughtered the cow. I omit the details, for they are not nice—we were unaccustomed to such work, and we bungled it.

But in the midst of it, working with the haste of fear, we heard cries, and we saw a number of men running toward us. We abandoned the spoils and took to our heels. To our surprise we were not pursued. Looking back, we saw the men hurriedly cutting up the cow. They had been on the same lay as ourselves. We argued that there was plenty for all, and ran back. The scene that followed beggars description. We

fought and squabbled over the division like savages. Brentwood, I remember, was a perfect brute, snarling and snapping and threatening that murder would be done if we did not get our proper share.

And we were getting our share when there occurred a new irruption on the scene. This time it was the dreaded peace officers of the I. L. W. The little girl had brought them. They were armed with whips and clubs, and there were a score of them. The little girl danced up and down in anger, the tears streaming down her cheeks, crying, "Give it to 'em! Give it to 'em! That guy with the specs—he did it! Mash his face



for him! Mash his face!" That guy with the specs was I, and I got my face mashed too, though I had the presence of mind to take off my glasses at the first. My! but we did receive a trouncing as we scattered in all directions. Brentwood, Halstead and I fled away for the machine. Brentwood's nose was bleeding, while Halstead's cheek was cut across with the scarlet slash of a blacksnake whip.

And lo, when the pursuit ceased and we had gained the machine, there, hiding behind it, was the frightened calf. Brentwood warned us to be cautious, and crept up on it like a wolf or tiger. Knife and cleaver had been left behind, but Brentwood still had his hands, and over and over on the ground he rolled with the poor little calf as he throttled it. We threw the carcass into the machine, covered it over with a robe,

and started for home. But our misfortunes had only begun. We blew out a tire. There was no way of fixing it, and twilight was coming on. We abandoned the machine, Brentwood puffing and staggering along in advance, the calf, covered by the robe, slung across his shoulders. We took turn about carrying that calf, and it nearly killed us. Also, we lost our way. And then, after hours of wandering and toil, we encountered a gang of hoodlums. They were not I. L. W. men, and I guess they were as hungry as we. At any rate, they got the calf and we got the thrashing. Brentwood raged like a madman the rest of the way home, and he looked like one, what of his torn clothes, swollen nose, and blackened eyes.

There wasn't any more cow-stealing after that. General Folsom sent his troopers out and confiscated all the cows, and his troopers, aided by the militia, ate most of the meat. General Folsom was not to be blamed; it was his duty to maintain law and order, and he maintained it by means of the soldiers, wherefore he was compelled to feed them first of all.

It was about this time that the great panic occurred. The wealthy classes precipitated the flight, and then the slum people caught the contagion and stampeded wildly out of the city. General Folsom was pleased. It was estimated that at least 200,000 had deserted San Francisco, and by that much was his food problem solved. Well do I remember that day. In the morning I had eaten a crust of bread. Half of the afternoon I had stood in the bread-line; and after dark I returned home, tired and miserable, carrying a quart of rice and a slice of bacon. Brown met me at the door. His face was worn and terrified. All the servants had fled, he informed me. He alone remained. I was touched by his faithfulness, and when I learned that he had eaten nothing all day, I divided my food with him. We cooked half the rice and half the bacon, sharing it equally and reserving the other half for morning. I went to bed with my hunger, and tossed restlessly all night. In the morning I found Brown had deserted me, and, greater misfortune still, he had stolen what remained of the rice and bacon.

It was a gloomy handful of men that came together at the Club that morning. There was no service at all. The last servant was gone. I noticed, too, that the silver was gone, and I learned where it had gone. The servants had not taken it, for the reason, I presume, that the club members got to it first. Their method of disposing of it was simple. Down south of Market street, in the dwellings of the I. L. W., the housewives had given square meals in exchange for it. I went back to my house. Yes, my silver was gone—all but a massive pitcher. This I wrapped up and carried down south of Market.

I felt better after the meal, and returned to the Club to learn if there was anything new in the situation. Hanover, Collins and Dakon were just leaving. There was no one inside, they told me, and they invited me to come along with them. They were leaving the city, they said, on Dakon's horses, and there was a spare one for me. Dakon had four magnificent carriage horses that he wanted to save, and General Folsom had given him the tip that next morning all the horses that remained in the city were to be confiscated for food. There were not many horses left, for tens of thousands of them had been turned loose into the country when the hay and grain gave out during the first days. Birdall, I remember, who had great draying interests, had turned loose three hundred dray horses. At an average value of five hundred dollars, this had amounted to $150,000. He had hoped, at first, to recover most of the horses after the strike was over, but in the end he never recovered one of them. They were all eaten by the people that fled from San Francisco. For that matter, the killing of the army mules and horses for food had already begun.

Fortunately for Dakon, he had had a plentiful supply of hay and grain stored in his stable. We managed to raise four saddles, and we found the animals in good condition and spirited, withal unused to being ridden. I remembered the San Francisco of the Great Earthquake as we rode through the streets, but this San Francisco was vastly more pitiable. No cataclysm of nature had caused this, but rather the tyranny of the labor unions. We rode down past Union Square and through the theatre, hotel and shopping districts. The streets were deserted. Here and there stood automobiles, abandoned where they had broken down or when the gasoline had given out. There was no sign of life, save for the occasional policeman and the soldiers, guarding the banks and public buildings. Once we came upon an I. L. W. man pasting up the latest proclamation. We stopped to read. "We have maintained an orderly strike," it ran; "and we shall maintain order to the end. The end will come when our demands are satisfied, and our demands will be satisfied when we have starved our employers into submission, as we ourselves in the past have often been starved into submission."

"Messner's very words," Collins said. "And I, for one, am ready to submit, only they won't give me a chance to submit. I haven't had a full meal in an age. I wonder what horse-meat tastes like."

We stopped to read another proclamation: "When we think our employers are ready to submit, we shall open up the telegraphs and place the employers' associations of the United States in communication. But only messages relating to peace terms shall be permitted over the wires."

We rode on, crossed Market street, and a little later were passing

through the working class districts. Here the streets were not deserted. Leaning over gates or standing in groups, were the I. L. W. men. Happy, well-fed children were playing games, and stout housewives sat on the front steps gossiping. One and all cast amused glances at us. Little children ran after us, crying: "Hey, mister, ain't you hungry?" And one woman, a nursing child at her breast, called to Dakon: "Say, Fatty, I will give you a meal for your skate—ham and potatoes, currant jelly, white bread, canned butter, and two cups of coffee."

"Have you noticed, the last few days," Hanover remarked to me, "that there's not been a stray dog in the streets?"

I had noticed, but I had not thought about it before. It was high time to leave the unfortunate city. We at last managed to connect with the San Bruno Road, along which we headed south. I had a country place near Menlo, and it was our objective. But soon we began to discover that the country was worse off and far more dangerous than the city. There, the soldiers and the I. L. W. kept order; but the country had been turned over to anarchy. Two hundred thousand people had fled south from San Francisco, and we had countless evidences that their flight had been like that of an army of locusts. They had swept everything clean. There had been robbery and fighting. Here and there we passed bodies by the roadside and saw the blackened ruins of farmhouses. The fences were down, and the crops had been trampled by the feet of a multitude. All the vegetable patches had been rooted up by the famished hordes. All the chickens and farm animals had been slaughtered. This was true of all the main roads that led out of San Francisco. Here and there, away from the roads, farmers had held their own with shotguns and revolvers, and were still holding their own. They warned us away and refused to parley with us. And all the destruction and violence had been done by the slum-dwellers and the upper classes. The I. L. W. men, with plentiful food supplies, remained quietly in their homes in the cities.

Early in the ride we received concrete proof of how desperate was the situation. To the right of us we heard cries and rifle shots. Bullets whistled dangerously near. There was a crashing in the underbrush; then a magnificent black truck-horse broke across the road in front of us and was gone. We had barely time to notice that he was bleeding and lame. He was followed by three soldiers. The chase went on amongst the trees on the left. We could hear the soldiers calling to one another. A fourth soldier limped out upon the road from the right, sat down on a boulder, and mopped the sweat from his face.

"Militia," Dakon whispered. "Deserters."

The man grinned up at us and asked for a match. In reply to Dakon's "What's the word?" he informed us that the militiamen were deserting. "No grub," he explained. "They're feedin' it all to the regulars." We also learned from him that the military prisoners had been released from Alcatraz Island because they could no longer be fed.

I shall never forget the next sight we encountered. We came upon it abruptly, around a turn of the road. Overhead arched the trees. The sunshine was filtering down through the branches. Butterflies were fluttering by, and from the fields came the song of larks. And there it



stood a powerful touring car. About it and in it lay a number of corpses. It told its own tale. Its occupants, fleeing from the city, had been attacked and dragged down by a gang of slum-dwellers—hoodlums. The thing had occurred within twenty-four hours. Freshly opened meat and fruit tins explained the reason for the attack. Dakon examined the bodies.

"I thought so," he reported. "I've ridden in that car. It was Perriton—the whole family. We've got to watch out for ourselves from now on."

"But we have no food with which to invite attack," I objected.

Dakon pointed to the horse I rode, and I understood.

Early in the day Dakon's horse had cast a shoe. The delicate hoof had split, and by noon the animal was limping. Dakon refused to ride it further, and refused to desert it. So, on his solicitation, we went on. He would lead the horse and join us at my place. That was the last we saw of him; nor did we ever learn his end.

By one o'clock we arrived at the town of Menlo, or, rather, at the site of Menlo, for it was in ruins. Corpses lay everywhere. The business part of the town, as well as part of the residences, had been gutted by fire. Here and there a residence still held out; but there was no getting near them. When we approached too closely we were fired upon. We met a woman who was poking about in the smoking ruins of her cottage. The first attack, she told us, had been on the stores, and as she talked we could picture that raging, roaring, hungry mob flinging itself on the handful of townspeople. Millionaires and paupers had fought side by side for the food, and then fought with one another after they got it. The town of Palo Alto and Stanford University had been sacked in similar fashion, we learned. Ahead of us lay a desolate, wasted land; and we thought we were wise in turning off to my place. It lay three miles to the west, snuggling among the first rolling swells of the foothills.

But as we rode along we saw that the devastation was not confined to the main roads. The van of the flight had kept to the roads, sacking the small towns as it went; while those that followed had scattered out and swept the whole countryside like a great broom. My place was built of concrete, masonry, and tiles, and so had escaped being burned, but it was gutted clean. We found the gardener's body in the windmill, littered around with empty shotgun shells. He had put up a good fight. But no trace could be found of the two Italian laborers, nor of the housekeeper and her husband. Not a live thing remained. The calves, the colts, all the fancy poultry and thoroughbred stock, everything, was gone. The kitchen and the fireplaces, where the mob had cooked, were a mess, while many campfires outside bore witness to the large number that had fed and spent the night. What they had not eaten they had carried away. There was not a bite for us.

We spent the rest of the night vainly waiting for Dakon, and in the morning, with our revolvers, fought off half a dozen marauders. Then we killed one of Dakon's horses, hiding for the future what meat we did not immediately eat. In the afternoon Collins went out for a walk, but failed to return. This was the last straw to Hanover. He was for flight there and then, and I had great difficulty in persuading him to wait for daylight. As for myself, I was convinced that the end of the general strike was near, and I was resolved to return to San Francisco.

So, in the morning, we parted company, Hanover heading south, fifty pounds of horse-meat strapped to his saddle, while I, similarly loaded, headed north. Little Hanover pulled through all right, and to the end of his life he will persist, I know, in boring everybody with the narrative of his subsequent adventures.

I got as far as Belmont, on the main road back, when I was robbed of my horse-meat by three militiamen. There was no change in the situation, they said, except that it was going from bad to worse. The I. L. W. had plenty of provisions hidden away and could last out for months. I managed to get as far as Baden, when my horse was taken away from me by a dozen men. Two of them were San Francisco policemen, and the remainder were regular soldiers. This was ominous. The situation was certainly extreme when the regulars were beginning to desert. When I continued my way on foot, they already had the fire started, and the last of Dakon's horses lay slaughtered on the ground.

As luck would have it, I sprained my ankle, and succeeded in getting no further than South San Francisco. I lay there that night in an outhouse, shivering with the cold and at the same time burning with fever. Two days I lay there, too sick to move, and on the third, reeling and giddy, supporting myself on an extemporized crutch, I tottered on toward San Francisco. I was weak as well, for it was the third day since food had passed my lips. It was a day of nightmare and torment. As in a dream I passed hundreds of regular soldiers drifting along in the opposite direction, and many policemen, with their families, organized in large groups for mutual protection.

As I entered the city I remembered the workman's house at which I had traded the silver pitcher, and in that direction my hunger drove me. Twilight was falling when I came to the place. I passed around by the alleyway and crawled up the back steps, on which I collapsed. I managed to reach out with the crutch and knock on the door. Then I must have fainted, for I came to in the kitchen, my face wet with water and whisky being poured down my throat. I choked and spluttered and tried to talk; I began by saying something about not having any more silver pitchers, but that I would make it up to them afterward if they would only give me something to eat. But the housewife interrupted me.

"Why, you poor man!" she said. "Haven't you heard? The strike was called off this afternoon. Of course we'll give you something to eat."

She bustled around, opening a tin of breakfast bacon and preparing to fry it.

"Let me have some now, please," I begged; and I ate the raw bacon on a slice of bread, while her husband explained that the demands of the I. L. W. had been granted. The wires had been opened up in the early afternoon, and everywhere the employers' associations had given in. There hadn't been any employers left in San Francisco, but General Folsom had spoken for them. The trains and steamers would start running in the morning, and so would everything else just as soon as system could be established.

And that was the end of the general strike. I never want to see another one. It was worse than a war. A general strike is a cruel and immoral thing, and the brain of man should be capable of running industry in a more rational way. Harrison is still my chauffeur. It was part of the conditions of the I. L. W. that all of its members should be reinstated in their old positions. Brown never came back, but the rest of the servants are with me. I hadn't the heart to discharge them—poor creatures, they were pretty hard pressed when they deserted with the food and silver. And now I can't discharge them. They have all been unionized by the I. L. W. The tyranny of organized labor is getting beyond human endurance. Something must be done.

(*The end*)

The state is the result of the desire to keep down class-conflicts. But having arisen amid these conflicts it is as a rule the state of the most powerful economic class, that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses.—Frederick Engels, in "Socialism—Utopian and Scientific."

Must the Proletariat Degenerate?

By Karl Kautsky

THE LATEST PHASE OF REVISIONISM

I



TUGAN-BARANOWSKY is no stranger to our readers. More than once, particularly of late, we have had occasaion to take notice of him. This has been due in part to the present industrial situation. We are in the midst of a general crisis, the study of which is one of the most important tasks of economic theorists. Now crises are one of Herr Tugan's specialties; he has made an exhaustive study of them.

But if we pay a good deal of attention to him it is only in part due to the fact that he is an authority on industrial crises. His importance is largely due to the fact that he is one of the most distinguished leaders of the revisionists. He represents, with Sombart, the manner and point of view of professorial revisionism. He leaves no stone unturned to make his views the starting point of a new theory.

It is now ten years since Tugan-Baranowsky became active in this direction. The fruitfulness of the revision of Marx must appear in his work if anywhere. A good test is furnished by his latest book, *Modern Socialism*. All the scientific progress made by the revisionists must be discoverable in this document.

II

We shall take notice here of only one feature of this work, the investigation of the process of economic evolution. It was this that furnished the point of departure for revisionism. Its champions maintained that this evolution has not justified the Marxian theory.

Let us see what Tugan-Baranowsky has to say of the "concentration theory:" "All the most recent data of industrial development corroborate this theory." It is true, we are told, that it does not apply to agriculture; "but this circumstance does not by any means destroy the

significance of the concentration theory in its application to the entire capitalist system; it merely makes necessary a modification." Herr Tugan definitely agrees to what I said on this point in my book on the agrarian question.

He acknowledges likewise that crises do not abate, that they are inevitable, and that trades-unions but intensify them: "The technical resources of modern industry are of such magnitude that the productivity of every capitalistic country has increased by leaps and bounds. This is best shown by the marvelous progress of capitalist industry during periods of industrial prosperity. But such an upward movement never lasts long. Three or four years pass and we are again in the midst of crises, bankruptcy and stagnation. This is the unchangable course of capitalist industry. During the past hundred years every period of prosperity has been followed by one of depression; during the past thirty years the sum total of lean seasons has much exceeded that of the fat ones. . . . It is true that there is going on within the capitalist system a mighty process of unification into associations and combines. But these capitalist organizations are unable to loose the bands which bind social production. On the other hand they make it possible to limit production, to hinder its natural increase. In this lies their chief purpose. Thus the lack of organization in capitalist society, which cannot be done away with by any combination, occasions a good deal of friction in the course of industrial development. This friction sometimes reaches such dimensions that it brings the progress of capitalism to a stand-still, i. e., we have a crisis. That is to say, capitalism condemns the proletariat to endless labor and misery, but it hinders also the growth of social wealth, prevents increase of the productivity of social labor."

We have here all the conclusions which ten years ago the revisionists threw on the scrap-heap amidst prolonged applause from the bourgeoisie.

III

Of all the destructive criticism of that period there remains only the argument against the theory of degeneration and collapse; an argument, however, which does not affect the Marxian doctrine, for it is directed against views for which Marx is not to be held responsible.

In his discussion of the degeneration theory Herr Tugan approaches my own position. He finds my remarks on social degeneration brilliant and, in great part, just. The increasing needs of the workingman place out of question the possibility of satisfying them. Furthermore, it is possible that Kautsky is right in his other statements; e. g., when he main-

tains that the exploitation of the worker by the owner of the means of production has of late increased rather than decreased, that the worker produces ever less for himself and more for the capitalist. All this is possible, but there is no definite proof of it; statistics of wages and incomes are too incomplete to admit of a definitive answer to the question involved. At any rate an amelioration of the position of the laboring class is not irreconcilable with an increase in the per cent of exploitation.

More than this we could surely not ask of a revisionist. He acknowledges that possibly, even probably, exploitation, and thus the gulf between capital and labor, is on the increase.

To be sure Herr Tugan imagines that he scores a triumph over me in this discussion of the degeneration theory: "Kautsky is definitely in error in his statement that this theory of social degeneration is truly Marxian. . . Marx was of the opinion that the more powerful become the productive energies of capitalism the keener and more general become social and physical misery; capitalist development not only makes the workingman a pauper, but forces him ever downward in physical, intellectual and moral condition." This last he asks me to acknowledge, "but Kautsky lacks the courage to acknowledge it publicly."

In reality some ten years ago I showed that if one really understands the elements of socialist theory he will interpret the doctrine of the increasing misery of the workingclass to mean its remaining behind in the general advance of society. I cited at that time Lassalle, and referred to Engels, Marx and Rodbertus, all of whom expressed themselves in the same sense. (*Bernstein and the Social Democratic Program.* p. 119).

If this does not satisfy Tugan-Baranowsky let me serve him another citation from Marx. In his pamphlet entitled *Wage-Labor and Capital,* Marx discusses the question as to the effect upon the worker of a rise in wages: "A cottage may be small, but so long as the dwellings surrounding it are no larger it satisfies the social requirements of its inhabitants. If, however, a palace raises itself alongside the cottage, the latter shrinks to a hut. Its comparative modesty shows that its inhabitants make only the smallest pretentions. In the course of civilization it may shoot ever so far into the air; if the adjacent palace increases equally in height, or even faster, the inhabitants of the comparatively small house will become constantly more uncomfortable, more discontented.

"A noticeable growth in wages presupposes a rapid growth in productive capital. Rapid increase of productive capital causes rapid increase in wealth and luxury, in social necessities and social enjoyments. Therefore, even if the worker has more, he is less satisfied; the enjoyments of the capitalist have increased faster than his. Our needs and

pleasures are social: we measure them by a social standard; we do not measure them in terms of the objects which give satisfaction. *Because they are social, they are relative.*

"Wages stand in a certain relation to the profit of the capitalist; so there is such a thing as a relative wage. This is to be distinguished, on the one hand, from the real wage (measured in terms of commodities) and, on the other, from the nominal wage (measured in money). It may fall when both the others rise. If wages rise five per cent and profits thirty, the relative wage has decreased.

"If there comes about, then, an increase in the worker's income, there occurs simultaneously a widening of the social chasm which separates worker from capitalist, a strengthening of the power of the capitalist and further accentuation of the worker's dependence."

The difference between Marxists and revisionists, then, is not to be found here. The revisionists were not the original discoverers of the fact that absolutely the position of the working class is improving; the Marxists never proclaimed a theory of absolute degeneration.

But there is a notable difference of opinion. Herr Tugan acknowledges that until the fifties of the last century the proletariat did really sink farther and farther into misery. From that time on, it seems to him, a steady improvement is discernible. This representation is in the main correct, but his theoretical explanation of it is inconsistent with the facts.

One modification of his statement of fact I should like to make before taking up his theory. He makes the general statement that "during the second half of the last century the conditions of the working class improved." This does not hold true of the entire working class. During the first part of the period in question it was true only of England and there applied only to certain classes of labor. Outside of England a noticeable improvement began only twenty years later, and there, also, merely among the aristocracy of labor.

And now as to his theory. He maintains that the increase in misery and want at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the result of the children's diseases of capitalism. The economic improvement of the proletariat is, according to him, a necessary result of capitalist development. The factory has to lower its wages so long as it has to compete with handicraft and domestic labor. After these are driven from the field "the natural increase in the productivity of labor brings about the tendency of wages to increase."

Against this conception must be urged the fact that at the middle of the last century handicraft was not driven from the field; that this has not even yet been done. Only certain forms of hand labor have dis-

appeared, those that brought good returns. Since then the sweating system has struck deep root in precisely those countries where capitalism is most developed. So we have still with us the form of small industry which is supposed to depress wages and plunge the worker into misery. On the other hand it is clear that the moment small industry disappears the capitalistic method of production will find itself at the end of its rapid expansion, the expansion which has furnished the most favorable condition for the worker. For expansion implies the production of more commodities than can be bought by the employes. These must be disposed of by driving out the home industry of the farmer and the handicraft of the urban producer. If capital has succeeded in doing this in its own country, it must seek a foreign market and there repeat the process. It adds, then, to the wage competition of its own craftsmen, home-workers and small farmers, those of other countries. The English textile worker has no longer to compete with the handweaver of his own country; but he still has arrayed against him those of India and China. In other branches, mining for instance, wages are brought down by the immigration of foreign handworkers, home-workers and small farmers who have been thrown out of employment by capitalist competition. Therefore the tendency to lower wages which existed during the early fifties still persists, though now it has taken on an international character. This tendency is a natural feature of the capitalist system, since it is closely connected with the condition of capitalist expansion. An end could be put to it only in case conditions appeared which put an end to the expansion of the capitalist method of production. But this would mean with "further increase of the productivity of labor" an absolute diminution in the demand for laborers. The old labor competition would cease; there would be no more handicraftsmen or home-workers to force into the proletariat. But a new competition would appear, the competition with the constantly increasing number of unemployed.

Therefore any improvement in the position of the working class cannot be attributed to the fact that independent workers have been turned into proletarians. For one thing, this process has not ceased, and for another, when it does cease it will be under circumstances which will have an altogether different effect from the one which Herr Tugan expects.

In reality when Herr Tugan begins to describe actual economic processes he gives quite different reasons for the improvement of the working class. He says: "The most important factors in the growth of the power of the working class were the factory laws, the labor organizations and the co-operative movement." Of these three factors not

one has anything to do with the reasons which were first assigned for the upward movement of the working class.

But if Herr Tugan comes nearer the facts in his account of these three factors, even here he exaggerates on the one hand, and on the other he leaves important influences out of account. Thus he overstates the fact when he says one of the beneficial results of labor laws is "an increased demand for hands," because "the shortening of the working day necessitates an increase of the number of workers."

A number of things go to show that this is not true. It has been shown again and again, e. g., that a shortening of hours bring about, not a decrease, but an increase, of labor-power. Again, the introduction of labor-saving machinery is often favored by labor legislation. More than this, the intensity of work, is everywhere rapidly increasing, and this tendency is favored by labor legislation. Nowhere has there been brought about a considerable diminution of labor-power through the passing of labor laws.

Much exaggerated, on the other side, is the significance which Herr Tugan gives the co-operative societies: "The co-operative movement freed the workers as consumers from the power of the dealer." Even the most optimistic co-operators may well shrink from this generalization. They expect their societies sometime to free the worker from the dealer; but they must acknowledge that thus far the advantages which they offer have benefited but a small minority of the proletariat.

But my chief criticism on this part of Herr Tugan's work is that he overlooks the mightiest causes which contribute to the elevation of the working class. We have already noticed that it was in England during the fifties of the last century that this upward tendency began. There it was due to the inauguration of the free-trade policy. This gave England a temporary monopoly of the world market, and a few crumbs of the resulting prosperity fell to the share of English workingmen.

In Germany it was the tremendous transformations of 1866 and 1870 which ushered in the new order. They first laid the basis of our government on liberal principles and made possible a rapid growth of capital.

Since 1880, finally, it has been the flooding of Europe with cheap food which has wrought the improvement in the position of the workers. Prices naturally decreased, and as soon as the hard times of the early eighties were over there began an era of prosperity. This, together with the labor laws and the rapid strengthening of the labor unions, worked an improvement in the conditions of living over a large part of Europe.

But are the conditions which produced this effect inseparably con-

nected with the development of the capitalist system of production? If so, they must remain increasingly effective and thus produce a steady increase in real wages.

If the revisionist theory as to the rise of the proletariat out of misery has a good foundation in fact, it must be able to establish this necessary connection. That would be the most important purpose of a revisionist theory. But the revisionists do not dream of such a thing; for the factors which have occasioned a rise in wages during the past decades are all decreasing in effectiveness.

First came the passing of English industrial supremacy. This began some time ago, but the effect of it was partially counterbalanced by the decrease in the cost of living. This decrease has now come to an end. The United States is becoming an industrial country with an increasing ground-rent; its reserves of uncultivated territory are rapidly disappearing. Russia and India sink farther and farther into chronic famine; their agriculture is falling into decay. So the flooding of the world-market with cheap food is coming to an end.

And the passing of labor laws has also come to a halt. The proletariat alone is not yet strong enough to force such legislation; the motives which formerly inclined many sections of the ruling class toward it are evidently losing their force. A minimum of protection for labor has been provided in most industrial countries—enough to prevent a too rapid degeneration of the working class. Beyond this the bourgeois class does not wish to go, partly because of the rise of the labor movement. When the most important labor laws were introduced the proletariat was still helpless, and it was not foreseen that these laws would do more than prevent the physical degeneration of the worker; lawgivers were quite unconscious of the fact that they would contribute to his moral and intellectual uplift, his consciousness of strength and his power of organization. Since this has been recognized bourgeois interest in social reform has notably decreased.

At the same time the sections of the owning class whose interests are directly opposed to labor legislation have grown. One of the chief forces favorable to such legislation was the animosity of the other classes toward the great capitalists. These other classes were mostly landowners, on the one side, and small capitalists on the other. Today many of the landowners have themselves become industrial capitalists. More than this, in their capacity of landowners they now feel the effect of the class-struggle; their laborers have been spurred on by the efforts of the industrial workers and in their turn have become dissatisfied. The small capitalist, on his part, sees no other salvation than unlimited exploitation of his laborers. So the small capitalist and landowner, who once

took an interest in the fight of the proletariat for social reform, now outdo the great capitalist in hatred of such reform.

All this tends to bring about a paralysis of the reform tendency. The achievements already accomplished are not the beginning of a series of improvements which will go on indefinitely in the same direction; they are only fragments which are regarded by their creators themselves as boundary marks to fix the limits of further concessions. Now and then a labor law may be passed, but always one that applies to a small industry. In general such legislation has come to a stand-still. In some respects there has even been a falling off. For example, work has increased in intensity, and workers, being obliged to live farther and farther from their employment, are actually giving an increasing proportion of their time to their employers.

And the growth of the labor unions is also reaching its limit; that is, their relative growth, their growth in relation to that of capitalist power. Actually, of course, their progress will continue; but the economic progress of the proletariat in society is indicated only by their relative growth.

The termination of the favoring factors just considered must tend to hinder the growth of the union movements. In addition there is another fact to take into account. The strength of the unions both in England and on the continent was increased by the fact that the workers organized faster than the capitalists. Organized workers found themselves opposed to unorganized operators.

And then came about a transformation of the industrial world: the textile industry ceased to be the controlling interest and the iron industry came into the position of first importance. But in this field men were not yet competing against women and the skilled worker had not been driven out by the unskilled. The rapid development of this industry, then, brought with it an increased demand for skilled male workers—the very ones most ready and qualified to organize and fight.

These facts furnished the basis for one of the attacks on Marx's Capital—first by bourgeois economists and then by revisionists. We were told that the Marxian theory might tally well enough with the facts in the textile industry, but not in the iron industry. Only uncritical dogmatists could find in this theory the law of the capitalist world in general.

But now, behold, the "dogmatists," who do not lose their head at the appearance of every new phenomenon, are justified. But few decades have passed, and already history has repeated itself; the conditions with which we grew familiar in the textile industry make their appearance in the field of iron and steel. Here also the work of women and un-

skilled laborers now hinders the growth of the union movement. At the present time combinations of capital have come to control the mining and metal industries to such an extent that often a single man controls an entire branch.

Some unions comfort themselves with the fact that it is easier to get on with organized than unorganized employers. This may be true of branches in which sharp competition has tended to depress wages. But there are only a few such branches, and they are unimportant. Even in these, as soon as competition is done away with, the combined capitalists show their teeth to the labor movement. And when it comes to a conflict between capital and labor it is clear that organized operators are stronger than unorganized.

All these circumstances place the unions more and more on the defensive, force them to concentrate their power on the mere maintenance of positions already taken. That they are more cautious than formerly is proved by the increasing unpopularity of strikes. The last year of prosperity brought no union labor advances noticeably beyond the advance in the prices of the necessities of life. Prices increase and remain high even during financial crises.

These are facts which are independent of the attitude of any party leader or union official, even independent of any form of tactics.

But all this leads to an inevitable result. The period of rising real wages must cease for one class of laborers after another; some must even suffer a decrease. And this applies not only to times of temporary depression, but also to times of prosperity. The period of rising real wages has lasted in England since the fifties, in Germany since the seventies and especially the eighties. This period has come to an end. A new period begins amid circumstances much more discouraging for the economic struggle of the proletariat. Increasing numbers of workers are now threatened with continued stagnation, or even depression, of real wages.

I do not mean that this period must last for decades or that the struggle against its degrading tendencies is hopeless. What is becoming hopeless is the isolated conflicts of separate crafts or parliamentary groups. The tendencies of this period are the result of a mighty world-change, and they can be met only by another mighty change—one that will make it possible to marshal as a single unit all the powers of the international proletariat. The Russian revolution might have been the beginning of a new era, the era of the advance of the proletariat. But other points of departure are thinkable. The present situation is not hopeless; but it does call for something more than make-shifts, something more than peanut tactics. It demands of the vanguard of the proletariat broad views and boundless courage. And to these qualities must be added

thorough-going knowledge and calm judgment. The fighting proletarians must be able to hold aloof from illusions and adventurous experiments; they must be ready to endure patiently during dark days of apparent defeat; must learn when to limit themselves to the education and organization of the proletariat and when to strike for victory.

But we may as well face the unwelcome reality. Until a great world-change takes place the proletariat must reckon with the fact that the good times are over and that the regular increase in real wages has reached its end.

If the tendency of wages under capitalism is not steadily downward, no more is it steadily upward. In fact the reward of labor tends to vary within fixed limits. These limits are more elastic, it is true, than Lassalle's iron law of wages. And within them the rise and fall are responsive to a variety of influences; not only as times change from good to bad, or *vice versa,* do wages go up or down; they vary also in accord with certain fundamental transformations of industry and politics. Extraordinarily favorable conditions may maintain a rising wage scale in some crafts for half a century. On the other hand no class of workers is secure against reductions. Technical developments, changes in the world-market or in the political situation—any of these may start a downward tendency. Over every proletarian hangs unemployment like a sword of Damocles; and just so over every class of workers hangs the danger of economic degeneration. But no matter how wages may vary, exploitation increases steadily. The mass of the exploited becomes constantly greater, and greater also grows the social and economic pressure. But this is not all. Constantly more imperative grows "the indignation of the ever swelling body of workers, men and women schooled for conflict by the mechanism of the capitalist process of production."

It is this growth which makes a widening of class distinction inevitable. It is not proletarian degeneration, but proletarian development, proletarian education, which will make the class-struggle constantly more bitter. There is no worse perversion of Marxian doctrine than to attribute to it the theory that "the workingman degenerates physically mentally and morally; he sinks ever deeper into ignorance and moral barbarism." Marx did foresee, and none more clearly, the increasing pressure to which the proletariat is subject; but he saw also that in this there is promise, not of degeneration, but of increasing intelligence and of final revolt and freedom.

Translated by WILLIAM E. BOHN.

Socialism for Students

By Joseph E. Cohen

IV. THE CLASS STRUGGLE



HE history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," say Marx and Engels, in the "Communist Manifesto." These are the first words written on modern Socialism. That the condition of the workers cannot be improved by an appeal to the innate goodness of mankind at large, but can come only through the conscious action of the workers, as a class—that is what distinguishes the Socialist movement from all other movements. Reduced to a sentence, Socialism is the workers' side of the class struggle. Without the class struggle, Socialism is like an aquarium without fish; like the play of Hamlet without "the melancholy Dane."

Marx and Engels were not the first to note that the conflict of interests between economic classes amounts to war. Plato said as much. And here in America, John C. Calhoun declared almost a score years before the "Manifesto" appeared: "I hold then, that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of the other. . . . It is useless to disguise the fact. There is and always has been, in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization, a conflict between labor and capital."

It is the special merit of Marx and Engels to have first observed that the class struggles of history are a "series of evolution," characterizing the change from one social arrangement to another, and constituting a law of social development.

In America, more so than elsewhere, the idea prevails that because our form of government is republican, there are no classes in society. Yet that very word "society" proves the reverse. When the papers tell us that Miss Coldcash is about to make her debut in society, they do not mean that she is about to be born. They serve notice on a certain exclusive set who are "society," that Miss Coldcash is open for matrimonial engagements. When an industrial depression sets in, caused by "overproduction," no one imagines that the surplus is in the hands of the

workers—that the poor are in distress because they possess too much. Nor does anyone imagine that old-age pensions are for retired multi-millionaires.

Classes are and always have been in America, because classes have been all down recorded history. The class struggle was the first fruit of private property. But the simple fact of the class struggle is often obscured by the glamor of romance, which is the principal stock-in-trade of many historians. Austin Lewis is entirely right when he says of the American Revolution: "It was carried through with the most pompous announcements of human liberty which hardly veiled the real designs of its instigators. It denied its professed theories at its very inception by the proclamation of human rights and the acceptance of chattel slavery." For not only the black race, but thousands of whites, were held in bondage for terms of years, while political liberty was restricted to such an extent that less than one-fourth of the adult males had a vote in the first election.

It is true, however, that while there always have been classes in America, class lines have never been so sharply defined as they are today. John Adams is reported to have said that he hoped the time would never come when a man would be worth a million dollars. Today a million dollars is of little consequence in the commercial world. We are reaching the billionaire stage. About half a century after Adams, Oliver Wendell Holmes thanked his stars that "it was but three generations between shirt sleeves and shirt sleeves." The third generation of our time return to shirt sleeves only, if at all, while awaiting trial for peppering each other's hides with bullets. However prodigal they may be, they can hardly squander their income, let alone impair their capital, which, indeed, is often held in trust for them. After Holmes, in his first message to Congress, Lincoln wrote: "A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others nor have others work for them." Today labor for wages is the ordinary way of gaining a livelihood; capital is supreme—it is a jealous god and will have no other gods before it.

Again, John Adams said of his own time: "America is a nation of husbandmen, planted on a vast continent of wild, uncultivated land; and there is, and will be for centuries, no way in which these people can get a living and advance their interests so much as by agriculture. They can apply themselves to manufactures only to fill up interstices of time, in which they cannot labor on their lands, and to commerce only to carry the produce of their lands, the raw materials of manufactures, to the European market." Yet the American Revolution was fought to free

the manufacturers and indebted Southern planters no less than the farmers and fishermen and merchants of New England, whom Adams represented. And Adams was only the second and last president to represent the interests of the sea coast, being defeated largely by the combination of the very interests he considered of secondary importance. And however little Adams represented the Northern agricultural element, which his words refer to, with his defeat that element never again controlled the national government. Still the farmer of the Revolution, who "fired the shot heard round the world," has given us a line of sturdy sons of the soil, who have fired many a good shot since; in our own time through the Grange movement, the Greenback and Peoples parties and finally, in conjunction with the workers of the shop, through the Socialist party. So it has come about that, as Ghent puts it: "America may have been another name for opportunity, as Emerson said, but it is evident that to hundreds of thousands of persons opportunity itself was but a name."

The class structure of society today has been most clearly defined in the tables made by the thorough and painstaking Lucien Sanial. He divides the total number of employed persons, ten years of age and upwards, into three classes. The plutocratic class numbers 250,251, is 0.9 per cent of the total, possesses $67,000,000,000 or 70.5 per cent of the total wealth; the middle class numbers 8,429,845, is 29 per cent of the total, possesses $24,000,000,000 or 25.3 per cent of the total wealth; the proletarian class numbers 20,393,137, is 70.1 per cent of the total, possesses $4,000,000,000 or 4.2 per cent of the total wealth. Sanial himself points out that the wealth of the working class consists largely of tools and household goods. It averages about $200 a person—hardly enough to start in to drive Standard Oil out of business. The middle class, while serving as a cushion between the two classes, nevertheless comprises divergent interests so incapable of concerted action as to be of much less importance than their strength of numbers and wealth would lead one to suppose. They are ground between the upper and nether millstones. For all practical purposes, there are two classes in society. Such a conservative labor man as John Mitchell admits that the workers can no longer hope to rise out of their class. The matter of fact of it is, a handful of money kings sway the nation's course.

We do not mean to imply that these class lines are rigid and absolute. But we do contend that, whatever shifting of individuals there may be from one class to another, however indefinite the lines of demarcation may be, there still remain the capitalist class and the working class, distinct from each other, with antagonistic and irreconcilable interests. Even were this shifting of individuals increasing instead of de-

creasing, so long as we permit private ownership in the means of life, there would still be a capitalist class and a working class, exploiters and exploited.

Nor does the theory of the class struggle imply that all is smooth sailing for the class rising to power. A revolution is often followed by a reaction or a counter-revolution; a class secures power only to find itself unable to handle it and is compelled to share it with the class it has superseded. Thus Untermann describes the present dominant class: "The history of bourgeois revolutions is a succession of compromises. . . Indecision and compromise are bred in the bourgeois blood. It was the fate of the bourgeoisie to be born between two fires. In the attempt to extinguish the one and keep from being extinguished by the other, the bourgeois nature developed that weather vane mind for which it has become historically disreputable." Thus the American government was established through concessions of the commercial and manufacturing classes to the slave owners of the South, who belonged to an obsolete social order. Thus, also, prior to the Civil War, Hinton Rowan Helper, in his "Impending Crisis," argued that the non-slave holding whites of the South were being ruined by "King Cotton," and called upon them to stamp out the "peculiar institution." On the other hand, the Southern oligarchy always looked down with disdain upon the business shrewd Yankee.

Further, while capitalism tends to urge industrial and financial capital to the top, it by no means eliminates other forms of capital. The frequent occurrence of "rent riots" in the larger cities indicates that landlords have not forgotten how to turn the screws upon the workers. But to learn how all-powerful industrial and financial capital is today, we need but follow the acts of government. Thus, the treaty of peace recently made between Japan and Russia is attributed to the banking houses of Rothschild and Morgan. Study a nation's policies and you can readily tell what class is in the saddle. Political power is the handmaiden of economic power.

The capitalist class ever availed themselves of governmental force to keep the workers down. As Marx records, in addition to compelling agricultural laborers to become factory hands, the English government was successfully invoked to extend the length of the working day, establish a maximum limit to wages, with fines for violation, and to outlaw coalition of laborers into trades unions. Later some of these measures became unnecessary, because of the growth of the industrial reserve army, while others were battered down by the workers themselves taking a hand in politics.

For their part, the workers are, as Shelley's verse runs, "heroes of

unwritten story." "The unwritten history of this country is the history of the American working people," says Untermann. During ancient and mediæval times, except for occasional outbursts in the shape of revolts, which were more or less quickly suppressed, the workers occupy the background in the social drama, apparently content to shed their blood for their masters. The foreground is pre-empted by the ruling classes, quarreling over pelf and place. Feudal lords succeed slave owners; capitalists wrest the sceptre from the feudal lords; each in turn exploits and oppresses the wealth producers. Every time a ruling class goes down, the ground is cleared for the next struggle. Yet the field ever narrows until only the workers and capitalists remain. The grapple between these two marks the close of the series, for when the workers free themselves they free humanity from all class distinctions.

At the same time, the workers were plunged into capitalism amid the din of the clashing of tremendous physical forces, the roar of the cannon no less than that of the steam engine. The spirit of the toilers has been militant down the decades. Strikes began in colonial days, although the first labor movement dates from about 1830, the year the first steam engine was introduced in America. Says Simons: "It is to these early working class rebels that we owe to a larger degree than to any other cause not only our public school system, but abolition of imprisonment for debt, the mechanic's lien law, freedom of association, universal suffrage, improvement in prison administration, direct election of presidential electors and in fact nearly everything of a democratic character in our present social and political institutions. . . . For the working class directly they succeeded in shortening hours and improving conditions in many directions. They even brought sufficient pressure to bear upon the national government to compel the enactment of a ten hour law and the abolition of the old legislation against trades unions, which had made labor organizations conspiracies." This was accomplished about the same time similar reforms were won in England.

It was not until about twenty years later that the organized labor movement began in earnest. With the discovery of gold in California, in 1848, the point farthest west was reached. The frontier was annexed to the Atlantic Coast when trans-continental railways swung out through Chicago ten years later. When the West became neighbor to the East, there was an exchange of ideas and spirit; the West benefited by Eastern culture, while the East benefited by the Western militant spirit. With that, and with the fall of the slave oligarchy, the road was cleared of all obstacles in the way of modern capitalism, and since then its development has been phenomenal. But lurking behind rampant capitalism, its very shadow, has been the modern labor movement.

Within the period covered by a decade either side of the Civil War, most of the international trades unions now in existence were organized. Keeping step with the expanse of capital, industrial conflicts assumed ever greater proportions, involving an ever greater number of workers, until, in 1877, for the first time something like a general strike prevailed. This grew out of a reduction in wages among railroad men, one of the penalties of the crisis of 1873. The workers of the country again joined forces for the inauguration of the eight hour day on May 1, 1886. In 1894 a sympathetic strike of the American Railway Union tied up the arteries of traffic of the nation. Again, in 1902, America was shaken from coast to coast when the coal miners went on strike.

In the trouble of 1877, Rutherford B. Hayes, then president, ordered the federal troops to the scene to cow the strikers into submission. In 1886 a more expedient method was found by hanging the leaders of the movement, upon the flimsy and unsupported charge of being responsible for the Haymarket bomb explosion in Chicago. The strike of 1894 was broken by the usurpation of both judicial and executive branches of the government. "Government by injunction" was resorted to and found effective when President Cleveland failed to break the strike by sending the federal troops to Chicago, over the protest of the mayor of the city and the governor of the state. The strike of 1902 was more diplomatically broken by President Roosevelt's coming, like the Greeks, bearing gifts—gifts of honeyed words.

It is well nigh impossible to compile a list of the many instances in which governors of states and mayors of cities have employed the strong arm of the government to break strikes. The most nefarious methods employed are those of the mine owners' association and their sister corporations, in their war on the metalliferous miners. In the Coeur d'Alenes, in the late '90's, and in Colorado, culminating in the stormy days of 1904, the master class excelled themselves. The workers were deprived of their constitutional rights, were herded by the militia wholesale into filthy enclosures known as bull pens unprotected from the elements, and subjected to every conceivable indignity. Their women folk were outraged by the brutal Hessians, their stores and property destroyed and they themselves often bayonetted out of town or deported by train and warned never to return on penalty of death. In this gentle manner the profit-thirsty capitalist class have taken pains to demonstrate that "there are no classes in America!"

The most outrageous violation of law and liberty came when Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, prominent in the Western Federation of Miners, were kidnaped from their homes at night, to be confined in prison for over a year and a half before being brought to trial. The noteworthy

feature of this case was the abject servility to capital with which the partners in the conspiracy against the miners, from Washington to Boise, performed their parts, and the fact that the Supreme Court, in so many words, handed down the Dred Scott decision of wage-slavery: The workers have no rights their masters are bound to respect.

While strikes seem to be clumsy weapons in the arsenal of the workers, in consideration of the money spent, the sacrifices endured and the frequency of failure, their importance should not be underestimated. They have that priceless educational value that comes only from experience. They implant in the toilers the feeling of solidarity and concern for a common cause; they show by a stroke that labor alone is indispensable for the welfare of society. In breaking the continuity of their humdrum existence, opportunity is offered to the workers to clear their lungs of factory grime, to loaf their souls in the sunlight, to learn that there is a life outside of that of the noise of machinery, to hearken to the call of books and brooks, to be something more than dirt under the industrial juggernaut And especially the lesson, that the labor question is a political question.

Here it would be well to mention two matters. It is only by the broadening of their mental horizon that the workers fit themselves to cope with the critical situations that must arise in the passing of capitalism and the coming of Socialism. In such days the workers will profit by the tragedy of the Paris Commune where, because of a constellation of incidents, such as being unprepared and misjudging the nature of their enemy, the first attempt of the workers at self-rule was drowned in a sea of their blood. Secondly, with the complete ascendency of the capitalist class, intellectual progress ceases or, worse still, consists of maggot breeding. Carnegie libraries, bearing the stain of Cain at Homestead, fawn upon the searcher after knowledge. Upon the workers, therefore, falls the mantle of culture, no less than that of economics. It is for them to decide the destiny of the arts and sciences, as of states and governments.

It is because the workers must be aware of these facts, aware of their position as the dependent class, aware that they are involved in a class struggle and must strike for freedom as a class, that so much emphasis is placed by the Socialist upon "class consciousness." This does not mean that only those who are of the working class can understand the toiler's position, his attitude and movement, nor, carrying this idea further, that only the most degraded, most destitute and most enslaved section of the working class can adequately express the ideals of the coming democracy. In respect to the latter, quite the contrary is true. Whatever shortcomings may mark the attempt upon the part of those

from the upper class to speak from the standpoint of the lower class, the cause of the toiler would indeed be hopeless if it depended upon the lowest element, the "social scum." But it does mean that, allowing for all personal equations, a certain tendency is crystallizing in the working class, an attitude of dissatisfaction with and opposition to present property relations, that refuses to accept the ethical codes of the ruling class and existing order, that weighs civilization not by what is but by what might be, that sounds the note not of content but of discontent, that has as its aim the control of government and industry by the world's workers. It is this tendency, this thought and attitude, that we call the class-consciousness of the working class.

In past times the working class did the fighting for the other classes. Today men who are not, strictly speaking, workingmen, throw their fortune with the toilers. This is especially true of men engaged in the professions and agriculture, the so-called middle class. Farmers join forces with the industrial workers, country unites with city, against their common enemy, the plutocracy. The nucleus of the army of revolt is formed by the workers of the highly centralized industries, because the very nature of their work cultivates the spirit of solidarity. Nor is the class struggle confined to one country. In every land where capitalism shows its head, irrespective of the form of government, creeds or races, there the class war rages, there the crack of the militiaman's rifle is heard, there the jail door swings open for the worker, there the courts are invoked to bind and gag the striker—and there is a branch of the international Socialist movement. Slowly the giant Labor bestirs himself. He is no longer blind. He has found his eyes. Over the bosom of the earth sweeps the spirit of the Social Revolution. Beneath the red flag, with "No Compromise" as their watchword and with the knowledge that when they free themselves they free all humanity, rally the forces of the coming democracy, hearkening to the clarion call first sounded by Marx and Engels: "Workers of all countries, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains: You have a world to gain!"

Philadelphia, Pa.

A Course of Reading, covering the subject touched upon in this month's article; it is suggested that the books be read in the order named:

War of the Classes, Jack London, 75c.
Mass and Class, W. J. Ghent, $1.25.
The World's Revolutions, Ernest Untermann, 50c.
Story of the French Revolution, E. Belfort Bax, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London.
History of the Paris Commune, E. Belfort Bax, Twentieth Century Press, Lond.
From Revolution to Revolution, George D. Herron, 5c.
Class Struggles in America, A. M. Simons, 50c.
Rise of the American Proletarian, Austin Lewis, $1.00.
The Pullman Strike, W. H. Carwardine, 25c.

Workers and Intellectuals in Italy

By Dr. Ervin Szabo, Budapest.



HE literature of Italian socialism is one of the richest. Few facts illustrate better the theory that the bureaucracy has but a very weak influence upon the material and spiritual products of a country than this great wealth of the Italian Socialist literature.

Germany is the ex-cathedra country of Marxism. Hundreds of writers who are officially employed by the party organization, official periodicals, party-schools, business-like book-houses serve the Marxist literature in Germany. Of all this there is hardly a nucleus in Italy. However the Italian Marxist literature is perhaps even more copious than the German. And as to the further development of the Marxian thought, Italy together with France—perhaps just because these countries have no such official organizations—have wrested the initiative from Germany. We may say that the theory of Marxism in Germany has not made one step forward for years. Those new thoughts and conceptions that have been published in the Neue Zeit and elsewhere during recent years are almost without exception from the pen of non-German or non-official writers, while in other countries, especially among the Latin nations, the writers ceaselessly strive to bring Marxism into harmony with the progress of the sciences.

Until recently the Germans have charged the French with being naively ignorant of the affairs of foreign countries. To-day this charge can be turned against the Germans with greater justification. It cannot escape the attention of the serious observer that for ten or fifteen years the French have tried to atone with a feverish activity for the mistakes that have resulted from their previous isolation. Now the French translate many books. They are traveling much and they are occupying themselves much with the German scientists and the happenings of German life. Meanwhile, the Germans, so famed for their solid knowledge, are to-day so superciliously neglecting the literature of foreign nations that their books give but scanty information upon any particular subject.

This symptom can be traced back to the great industrial and commercial prosperity of Germany. The economic glory went to the heads not only of the richer classes but also of the whole nation, the scientists and the workers. In the last year it happened frequently that at the German socialist conventions and conferences the Germans have given

very superficial opinions upon the Socialist activity of the other nations, being ignorant and misinformed. It is interesting to note that the Neue Zeit has taken up the discussion of French and Italian syndicalism only after the publication of several articles by Michels and Sombart in some radical papers in which they pointed out the significance of this new departure of the movement of the workingmen.

Michels' first work, mentioned in footnote,* is a revised edition of a series of articles which he published in the Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft. This is a very profound monograph of Italian socialism. It replaces the unscientific volume of Angiolini (Cinquant 'anni di socialismo in Italia. Firenze. 1903) and puts into relief those aspects of socialism which are to be found especially in Italy.

Michels tries to ascertain the part that the proletarian, the middle-class and the intellectual elements play in the Socialist movement. In order to come to a conclusion, he goes back to the beginnings of the movement, to the Internationale; he investigates the origin of the leaders, classifies the dues-paying members and analyzes the statistics of the Parliamentary elections. His conclusion, is that notwithstanding that the number of the Socialist vote falls behind the total number of the proletarian and proletaroid voters, in others words, Italian socialism has not thus far conquered all the proletarian elements, the proletarians are in the majority in the Italian Socialist party. However, there are many proletaroid elements in the party like small land-owners, state employees, teachers, etc. Further, there are party members from among the small middle-class, from the intellectuals and the employees of private enterprises. The leaders are almost exclusively from the bourgeoisie. In other words, it is evident that the Italian Socialist party is neither an association of people who hold the same ideal nor the representative body of a single class.

This is the most important conclusion of Michels' book. It contains very important data to the psychology of the Socialist parties and of all parties in general. It has been conclusively proven that a very significant percentage of the three and one-quarter million German Socialist voters is non-proletarian. We have no data as to the French Socialist party. However, we know that the intellectuals predominate in leadership and that a great number of the true proletarians, the syndicalists, do not identify themselves with the party. Many farming elements belong to the

* Reviews of Dr. Robert Michels' "Il proletario e la borghesia nel movimento socialista Italiano. Saggio de zcienza sociografico-politica. Torino. 1908," and of his "Die Entwickelung der Theorien in modernen Sozialismus Italiens.. In Ferri, Die revolutionare Methods. Leipzig. 1908."

Austrian Socialist party. All this goes to show that the four greatest European Socialist parties do not represent that unity of elements that the popular Socialist theory claims.

The characteristic feature of the so-called modern movement of the workingmen—a term which the German Marxists have originated—is that the Socialists organize in the form of a political party, that socialism is represented by a political party. This is the way theory and practice become one. This is the only form in which socialism and the working class can unite, because a party is nothing else but the political representative of the economic movement of a class. Therefore the Socialist party cannot be merely the representative body of the working class, opposing the other parties as the representative bodies of other classes. And now it becomes evident, in one country after the other, that, while on the one hand, large strata of the economically organized working class are not represented by the Socialist party, on the other hand, large strata of the members of the Socialist parties do not belong to the working class. In other words, the supposed identity of unity of party and class is not at all so evidently clear as is generally believed.

Within the limits of a review, we cannot give all the conclusions deriving from the above facts. We want to point out only the salient conclusions—namely, if party and class are not the two manifestations of the same social formation and if socialism is the inevitable ideology of the working class, then the party cannot cover the content of socialism and the means and ways to the practical realization of socialism are by no means exhausted with those offered by the platform of the modern Socialist parties. In other words, if the Socialist parties want to become the representative bodies of the whole working class, and only of the working class, then they must make very essential revisions in their current theories and general practice.

It has long been felt that there is some trouble in the Socialist parties and that the reality is not in harmony with the theories. All those struggles which, for the past decade, sail under the names of reformism, revisionism, revolutionism, back to Kant, back to Marx, are nothing but manifestations of this inner dissonance. These struggles have many interesting episodes, hidden threads and entangled knots which will perhaps be disentangled only in the remote future.

The best parts in Michels' book are where he speaks about the part which the Intellectuals play in the Italian Socialist movement. From his introduction to Ferri's leaflet we see that the Italian Socialist theories are entirely the product of the Intellectuals; they were the first propagators of socialism and even to-day most of the official propagandists, the journalists, the editors of the reviews, are Intellectuals.

Since 1870 only six real workers were members of the Socialist parliamentary group, while, since 1900, there were never less than nine university professors in parliament. Among the twenty-four Socialists who were sent to parliament at the last elections, we find ten university professors, six lawyers, three doctors, etc., but not a single workingman. However, the target of all inner feud in the Socialist movement is the Intellectuals. They are the source of all the troubles, just as is the fact in Germany.

It is entertaining to read the sketch of all these struggles. The intransigents* led by Ferri, a university professor, tried to drive from the party, with the aid of the workers, all the party members who were not of a proletarian origin or those who had a university education. While the leader of the reformists, Turati, the son of a Governor and a lawyer, answers in a pamphlet stating that the revolutionary intellectuals are of petit-bourgeois origin, who, because they could not make a career, have left their class and joined the growing socialist movement. He appealed to the workingmen to throw over their vain and impotent leaders who do not know the real needs of the workers. The situation became more curious when the syndicalists of the party group, led by a university professor and an ex-lieutenant of the army, Arturo Labriola and Walter Mocchi, began to aim even more pointedly at the intellectuals. In consequence thereof the adherents of Ferri and Turati made peace. It seemed that the whole crisis of Italian socialism was due to the intellectuals.

Michels energetically refutes the idea that all the trouble came from the relatively small number of the intellectuals. He very interestingly explains those race-psychological causes which make the great group of Italian intellectuals more sympathetic toward socialism than, for instance, the German intellectuals, who are still on the intellectual level of the mediæval caste system. Michels proves that the intellectuals derive hardly any or no material benefits at all from joining the socialist movement. The members of Parliament do not receive a salary. The party employs only a few paid officials and only one or two party papers are paying their contributors. In innumerable cases the bourgeois socialists proved to be more proletarian in their spirit than the socialists who are born proletarians. He quotes Labriola who is forced to confess that among the intellectuals of the party there are many "who have a really heroic character, who are noble and spirited organizers and unselfish

*A term used in Europe for the "uncompromising" or "irreconcilable" wing of the socialists, corresponding pretty nearly to what in America we call "impossibilists."—Editor.

humanists, who do not derive any material benefits or only a ridiculously small compensation for an incredible amount of activity and sacrifice.

"The great moral beauty of Italian socialism would perish," says Michels, "if the intellectuals were driven from the movement. On the contrary, a purely proletarian movement would fall an easy prey to corruption. A workingman leader," he continues, "would not save the party from corruption in the field of theories and even less so in the field of practice."

We have said in our study that in the Italian Internationale the bourgeois elements have given a more splendid proof of their political honesty than any number of proletarian leaders. The same thing holds good of other movements. In France, in 1848, among fourteen worker members of Parliament not less than ten have betrayed their class.

The more exclusive a movement of the workers is, the easier it is penetrated by corruption. The purely proletarian movement led by Fribourg and Tolain, under Napoleon III, the Trade Union movement of the United States, which is bought and sold by its famed bosses, are not conclusive proofs of the notion that only the hand of the laborer may keep clean his party."

Michels finds the solution in syndicalism. However, he criticizes very sharply the Italian syndicalist movement and its youthful immaturity. The future of socialism is syndicalism, which is not merely proletarian but also revolutionary socialist, which unites the class with the ideal but does not exclude the intellectuals without whom it cannot fulfill its great theoretical, scientific and moral duties.

Michels covers such a great mass of data that it is impossible to speak of it all within the limits of a review. We have not mentioned many questions about which he has new things to say. There are very interesting chapters in which he explains the relations of the proletarians of the farms to the socialist party, the antagonism between socialists and anarchists and the psychology of the Italian bourgeoisie as against that of the German.

Translated by ODIN POR, Florence, Italy.

The Hold Up Man

By Clarence S. Darrow



HE season of the "hold up man" and the "anti-hold up man" is once more at hand. This period comes annually at the same time of year, just after the flower show, the horse show, and along with the college foot ball games. It begins with the season of gaiety, when the days grow short and the nights grow long, when the first sharp, tingling frost of winter drives the people off the streets and huddles them around their fires, and when the price of coal goes up.

The season of the "hold up man" will wane as the winter gaieties fade away—soon after lent—when the nights again grow short and the days grow long, when the price of coal goes down and the sun comes back once more and warms the poor and homeless, without money and without price.

Lawyers, mayors, doctors and policemen freely give their advice as to the best way to treat the "hold up man." There is scarcely a topic of the day in which all classes of society so generally agree—one remedy is prescribed by all—more police, more revolvers, more clubs, more jails—this is the remedy for the "hold up man." One able lawyer advises every citizen to carry a revolver and to shoot at every suspected hold up—to aim at the abdomen, presumably the most fatal spot—why the "hold up man" should be treated differently from other men who transgress the moral law is not quite clear. If all sinners were to be shot at sight few would be left to bury the dead. A doctor, generally humane and wise, declares that the mayor is responsible for all the hold up men, that there is no excuse for a burglary on "Maple street," and some other street. What the residents of these streets have done to exempt them from the hold up man is not made clear.

It has not occurred to any of these eminent people to find the cause for the "hold up man," and yet most of them know that nothing in this world exists without a cause.

Of course no one but a crank or a fanatic could find any necessary connection between the brilliant costumes of the horse show, the cold blasts of winter, the price of coal and the hold up man, yet after all many men whom the world has called wise—and even orthodox—have associated these causes and brought not only arguments but long tables

of figures to show that there is a law which governs even the actions of the hold up man and relates him to every other living thing upon the earth.

There are many other facts that students have learned while policemen were wielding their brutal clubs.

The number of homeless girls who patrol the streets of our large cities grows greater, they walk more briskly and waste less time negotiating with the prospective customer as the nights grow long and cold—to most people this is an accident like all other things on earth. There are those who know that the rooms where these girls sleep are poor, that they are not all heated with steam, that most of them are cold, and that to say nothing of food, these wanderers must do something to keep warm. There are other facts, too, which the "crank" and sentimentalist has found out. Our jails and police stations are fuller in winter than in summer. "The Salvation Army" and other bodies of evangelists who have warm rooms and nice bowls of hot soup make many more converts in winter than in summer. The winter "Christian" is known to all who do this sort of work. Our poor houses, wood yards, orphan asylums, and even art galleries and public reading rooms are well patronized in winter. This last would teach some profound thinkers that cold weather conduces to literature and art. Pawn shops and second hand furniture men get better bargains in winter than in summer—but still what of it?—do not lawyers, doctors, policemen and clergymen all say that the panacea for all ills is the policeman's club?

There are other facts which dreamers and visionists are wont to note—those people have so little to do with the practical side of life that they must needs dream. In good times tramps are scarce, jails are empty, criminal courts not over busy, street walkers few, hold up men very rare.

The early winter is the time that frugal men and frugal beasts lay up their stores for the cold days and nights coming on. The thrifty mine owners lay in their stocks by marking up the price of the coal which the Lord placed in the earth long ages since; the lawyer and merchant telephones his dealer to put twenty tons of coal in his cellar to feed his furnace through the winter months—the poor seamstress works farther into the black night to buy a few bushels to keep her fingers from growing stiff. Old, bent, haggard women take huge sacks upon their shoulders and wander up and down the railroad tracks for the stray lumps that may drive away a portion of the frost, and lean, dirty, little boys pull their carts through the streets and sweep up what the rich man leaves, and the hold up man, he, too, goes out to lay in his winter stock against the ice and cold.

The hold up men are not the ones who mark up the price of coal and gas and beef—these would take no such chances as fall to the lot of the hold up man. The hold up man comes from the home of the wretched and the poor—who think you is this hold up man—was he born this way? if so, don't fire as you meet him on the street but turn your gun on God Almighty who made him as he is. But he was not born—he was made—he might have been an unsuccessful merchant who could not compete with the department store—or a railroad man whose name is on the black list because he dared to strike. He grew more and more desperate year after year until he became a "hold up man."

It is fifty years since the great philosopher and historian Buckle gave his monumental work to the world. In this work he showed not alone by reason and logic, but by statistics covering long periods of time, that the suicides, the defalcations, and the crimes of all kinds increased and decreased in England, and have for years, exactly as the price of bread went up and down. This was not new when Buckle wrote it down, it was known before and has been shown by almost every good economist since then.

There are many other facts that cranks often cite. Australia was settled by exported criminals, but they went to a country where land was cheap and opportunity great, and became industrious, hard-working men, the next generation became respected, high-toned citizens. Take a thousand of our low-class crooks and a thousand of our commonest prostitutes, and put them on an island where land is cheap and opportunity great, and in the third generation their descendants will be civilized, well-mannered citizens, with houses and barns, books and pictures, churches, policemen and jails.

The hold up man of to-day is the same man who lurked around the mansions of the rich in Rome 1500 years ago. He was sent to jail, but he battered away at the civilization of Rome until the rich and poor went down in common ruin and despair. He is the same hold up man that Louis XV and Louis XVI were wont to club and kill in France a hundred years ago, but one day all the disinherited hold up men crept out from the alleys and caverns and marched on the king's palace and took possession of the state. Then these men made the rules of the game and the nobles and princes went into the back alleys and took the place of the hold up men, that is those who did not move to the catacombs.

Every increase in the price of coal makes "hold up men." Every time the price of meat goes up, some women go upon the streets, and some men get burglars' tools. Every extortionate penny taken by the gas trust makes hold up men. In their last analysis these despised criminals are men whom our social system has frozen out—who cannot live—who

have no place upon the earth. Even the prostitute who plies her trade for the love of the trade, and the criminal who loves crime (if any such there be) have come to their present place through years of misfortune or hard environment, and would surely disappear under fairer conditions and with anything like a decent chance.

The rescue missions save many girls from prostitute lives but they only make room for some other girl whom society is starving and freezing until she takes her place. So you may kill all the hold up men, but back of these are a long line of other men standing on the border, waiting for a chance to take their place.

Chicago is fairly well to do for jails and lock-ups. We have just built a fine, large addition to our county jail—the building has steam heat and electric lights and many boarders are found therein—especially in winter time, but has crime decreased as the jail increased in size? No one seems to expect this—it is taken for granted that this will grow as fast as any other institution of the town. If a pestilence of typhoid fever should break out in town the wise, humane doctors would advise us to build more hospitals—the cranks and visionists would tell us to boil the drinking water and stop the scourge. Thank God, the practical man has always ruled the world—with clubs!

With a small handful of men controlling all the earth and every opportunity for life, and the great mass forced into hopeless want, it will take more jails, policemen and clubs to keep the disinherited at bay. There is one way and only one to treat the hold up men—feed them, or rather let them feed themselves.

But more grim and farcical still than the senseless talk about the hold up man is one other fact. Chicago has hundreds of Christian churches—we are a Christian people. It is nineteen hundred years since Christ's teachings were given to the world—we profess to be the disciples of that lowly man who believed in no jails or clubs—who taught infinite love and infinite mercy—who said if a man asked for your coat, give him also your hat—and yet to-day we know nothing better than hatred, repression, brute force, jails and clubs. We single out a considerable class of our fellow men to shoot on sight. Of course, the world will continue to treat its so-called criminals in this enlightened human way, therefore would it not be well to rechristen our churches, and stop calling them after Christ?

How Tom Saved the Business

BY

Mary E. Marcy



JAMES BARTON, Tom's father, was a business man of the old school. He delivered the kind of goods he sold and he sold the best. Furthermore, he never took an "unfair advantage" of anybody, and his word was "as good as his bond."

For nearly thirty years Mr. Barton had been the "most prominent citizen" in Lucasville. He felt a pardonable pride when the factory was enlarged and the little real estate company and the town bankere were forced to put up several rows of new cottages to accommodate the new men who brought their families when they came to work for the factory people. The grocers began to employ new clerks and the village gradually assumed an air of busy industry that delighted Mr. Barton's heart.

The county papers spoke of him as a public benefactor and for many years he was the largest contributor toward the salary of the pastor of the First Congregational Church.

This is the story of his rise. When Tom was a very little shaver and Tom's mother was the neatest and prettiest young wife in the whole state, Jim Barton made the acquaintance of a silent chap who worked near him in the molding rooms. The acquaintance ripened into friendship and when the whistle blew at noon, it came to be the thing for Jim Barton and Sid Mathews to sit outside in the cool and eat their lunch together. Sid's original ideas upon machinery interested Jim, so it came about that when Sid fell upon a bright idea, he wandered over to the cottage to tell Jim Barton about it.

Secretly Sid planned and schemed and experimented over the biggest thing of all, and when at last his patterns were perfected, the gear ran flawlessly and he rejoiced in the thing he had wrought, Sid sought Jim Barton to tell him the good news.

Although Jim Barton was no mechanical genius, he became so enthusiastic over Sid's invention that he sold off the timber from his land and went to manufacturing at once. They estimated Sid's

patent rights to be worth a third of the business, and Sid was to have his share of the profits.

They prospered amazingly. Jim managed the business and Sid puttered around the molding rooms. Occasionally he invented another device—a simpler lever, or a cheaper attachment. These, with his Mathews' Valve patents, he turned over to the company.

Jim Barton was the kindest boss that ever ruled in old Missouri. He loved his men and it was a saying with him "if you make a workingman contented, he'll die for you." The men rarely left his employ.

In '93, during the panic, when the company (of course, it was a stock company by that time) ran very close to the danger line, Jim Barton had a heart-to-heart talk with his men. He hated to do it, he told them, but he would have to cut wages 25 per cent or lay off a part of the force. Voluntarily he cut his own salary 25 per cent at the same time. And they tell me, not one of the men would have gone out for even better pay that winter. Nearly every one of them could tell, with a clutch at his heart, of some time of illness or trouble in his little home, when old Jim Barton had knocked at the door and given them a lift over the bad place.

So there was much joy in Jim Barton's life and he went proudly and serenely on his way. Tom went to college, of course, and the first real blow Jim ever had was when Tom decided to go to work for the Harvester Trust. Tom said his father's business methods were out of date.

The next year the orders came more slowly, for the competitors of Barton, Mathews & Co. slashed prices savagely and houses that were willing to pay for the "very best" dwindled about forty per cent.

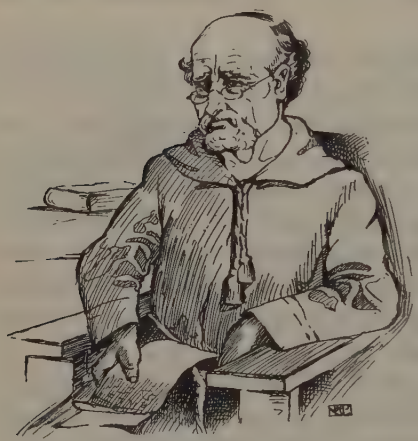
Mathews had been permanently crippled the year before while experimenting on a new wrinkle in the Mathews Self-Regulator. Nobody knew how he tripped over a wire into the white iron, ready for the molds. Sid's salary went on just the same, but thereafter Jim Barton had to make the fight alone.

Often at night, when his wife lay sleeping, Jim Barton would slip on his bath robe and slippers and steal into the sitting-room and try to figure it out. He worked over the Cost Price. Again and again he figured it over. He could not put out an inferior "grade of make." He simply couldn't. It made the old man groan at the mere thought. "Barton & Mathews' grade has always been the best, and it must keep on," he would say to himself.

Then he would sharpen his pencil and look over the Pay Roll. To be sure there was Sid Mathews still getting his $3,000 a year, but

Sid's inventions had MADE the business, and Sid's children had to be sent to school, and—he ran his eyes down over the list. There were Lewis, Morgan, Tucker and three or four others who were old and stiff and not much account, but they all needed jobs DESPERATELY—more than any of the younger men. Besides they had stood by the House in '93. They could not go.

There was the superintendent—in name only, but Mr. Barton wiped his eyes when he thought of the pain faithful Smith would feel if he were laid on the shelf. Thus he ran over the list. The men who were getting too much had families who could not live on less, and no true Christian, Mr. Barton thought, would turn off men because they had grown old.



He always ended by closing the Time Book and running his long, gnarled fingers through his sparse grey hair. Then he would sigh gently and resolve to draw as little money out of his salary as possible. But he was a man of experience and knew that the raw material, added to the cost of running the plant, and the Pay Roll, would put any House out of business that had to meet stiff competition.

* * * * * * * *

Late in September, James Barton was injured by a flying, broken belt. As usual, he had clambered up one of the steep ladders to take a hand in some machine repairs. The men carried him home and for many days he lay in the great blue bed-room, babbling over old and tender memories, and it was whispered about the town that the doctors feared he would never rise again.

At this time they sent for Tom Barton. Tom was a strong, pushing young man, possessing all the qualities his father lacked. As the head man in the Western Branch of the great Harvester Trust, he was thoroughly informed upon the latest methods of modern Business.

"Why in the name of Common Sense," Tom remarked to himself, after he had been long enough in command to measure his men, "does the pater pay fifteen dollars a week to old men when he can get young ones for seven or eight—and the young men able to turn out twice the work at that!" Thereafter he began to tinker with the Pay Roll.

Elimination of the weak is the first principle of "good business" and Tom put it into operation for Barton, Mathews & Co. He thought the man who had not accumulated a competence by the time he had reached forty belonged in the Junk Pile, and he never missed an opportunity of sending him there.

So Tom pared down wages till by the first of the year, though the machines had been speeded up several notches and the new force of young men kept the wheels moving at a clipper pace, the Pay Roll was reduced to less than half its former size.

Another phase of the business pained Tom even more deeply than the swollen pay roll. He learned that the standard of excellence his father and Sid Mathews had established during the early period of their manufacturing career, had been firmly maintained, or improved throughout the long years of their business life. Try as he did, Tom was unable to find where an inferior grade had been substituted either in the raw materials or in the finished products, themselves. Only perfect fixtures, fittings and machines went through that factory door. The smallest flaw never got past Jim Barton's honest inspection.



But Tom inaugurated a new regime! It was well, he thought to begin making the Best Grade. This was the way to gain a reputation, but it was worse than a waste of money and effort for a firm to continue to improve its products. The value in a reputation-for-making-good-grade lay in the possibilities it afforded one for selling goods of an INFERIOR quality.

Under the new management, the company was able to shade its prices down to meet those of all competitors, while their old reputation for quality enabled them to gather in the orders.

Business picked up steadily and before long orders were booked three months ahead. But there were so many changes everywhere that when old Jim Barton drove down to the Plant one day he scarcely knew his own factory. The shock was so great that he suffered a relapse. After that he left things in Tom's hands.

The stockholders of the company were grieved at the first of the year to learn Barton, Mathews & Company would declare no dividends. Several of them grumbled, but Tom steered a steady course. He knew his own mind. When a man controls 51 per cent of the stock, it is more sensible to double his own salary and the salary of his friends than it is to pay dividends. When he thought

of the 20 per cent the House had paid regularly year in and year out in the past, he wondered that the Business had not long before gone to the wall.

He wiped Sid Mathews' name off the "Charity" or "Pension List" and voted himself a salary of $10,000 a year.

Last spring Tom Barton married the daughter of the leading banker in Joplin, and—from all the Dun and Bradstreet reports—the young people are likely to live happily ever after.

Herbert Spencer believes that universal evolution dominates over all orders of phenomena, with the exception of the organization of property, which he declares is destined to exist eternally under its individualistic form. The Socialists, on the contrary, believe that the organization of property will inevitably undergo—just as all other institutions—a radical transformation, and taking into consideration its historical transformations, they show that the economic evolution is marching and will march faster and faster—as a consequence of the increased evils of individualist concentration—toward its goal, the complete socialization of the means of production which constitute the physical basis of the social and collective life, and which must not and cannot therefore remain in the hands of a few individuals.—Enrico Ferri, in "Socialism and Modern Science."

Who Constitute the Proletariat?

By Carl D. Thompson

In Reply to Thomas Sladden's "The Revolutionist."



HE article in the December number of the International Socialist Review by Comrade Sladden of Oregon, on "The Revolutionist," is a most astonishing utterance.

Comrade Sladden informs us that ninety per cent of all the educators in the American Socialist movement don't know what they are talking about. The presumption is, of course, that he does—that he has a very authoritative utterance to make. So we read his article with great care.

And what is the great vital truth which all the other writers have failed to grasp? What is the fatal error that they have made?

First, that they conceal the class struggle. But what is more important for this article they fail to understand who constitute the proletariat. This he tries to make clear.

The substance of his contention is that the proletariat is the lowest strata of society—and only that.

A NARROW VIEW.

He says: "The skilled tradesman is not a proletarian. He has an interest to conserve, he has that additional skill for which he receives compensation in addition to his ordinary labor power." To make his meaning quite unmistakable, he adds in another paragraph: "The artisan is nothing but the skilled tradesman of today, skilled laborer is simply an Americanized term for them." Thus we have presented to us a working class with the entire organized trades union movement of America excluded. And we are to depend for our social revolution and Socialism upon the unorganized, unskilled workingmen.

And this Comrade Sladden boldly asserts, "A proletarian, according to Marx in the Manifesto, is a common, unskilled worker."

Now, in the first place I deny that Marx ever made such a statement or that there is anything in the Manifesto that justifies it.

And besides it is ridiculous to exclude a worker from the proletariat because he is skilled. It takes some skill to milk a cow. I suppose,

then, that the hired man on the farm is a capitalist. My father owned a small farm. He once hired a man who could husk two bushels of corn to father's one right along. He was skillful. I suppose then that the hired man was the capitalist.

Every carpenter, machinist, bricklayer, engineer, plumber, tinner, blacksmith, stone-cutter, draftsman, is more or less skilled. And so Sladden excludes them wholesale from the working class. Such a definition is absurd and false.

Furthermore, we are told, this proletariat is a very low type of being intellectually. "He is uncultured and uncouth in appearance. He has no manners and little education." He has a religion, however—"the religion of hate."

In all of this Comrade Sladden is quite in agreement with Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. Parry, Sam Gompers and other enemies of Socialism that know nothing about it. They all say that Socialism is the product of ignorance, dirt and hate. They all say that no man with any brains would be a Socialist: that no person of intelligence or of any humane or kindly feelings towards humanity would ever join such a movement. And with its appearance all culture would of course disappear.

This is a very common claim made by our enemies against Socialism. We expect it from men like Roosevelt, Van Cleave and their like. We expect it from Gompers. But what shall we say when our own comrades take up the same cry, and begin to belabor us with the same cudgel?

We will have to say to them exactly what we do to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Gompers. We deny your charge. What you say is not true. The facts are against you, Mr. Roosevelt. And the facts are against you, too, Comrade Sladden.

Marx never attempted such an absurdity. Liebknecht, Bebel, Kautsky did not.

This is what Kautsky says: "The problem we have to solve presupposes *intelligence, discipline and talent for organization.* Those are the psychological foundations of a Socialist society." (Page 185, Social Revolution.)

"The social revolution requires high intelligence, strict discipline and complete organization if the proletariat is to attain strength to overcome so extremely powerful an opponent." (Page 187.) "So we may expect that a realm of strength and of beauty will arise that will be worthy the ideal of our best and noblest thinkers."

And as for the attitude of the proletariat towards culture, Kautsky has this to say: "The fear that the conquering proletariat would come into our culture like the Vandals is rapidly disappearing." (Social

Revolution, page 45.) There has been "a moral re-birth of the proletariat which has transformed them from the barbarians of modern society into the most significant factor in the maintenance and furtherance of our culture." (Page 101.)

This I insist is the way all the great Socialists look upon the proletariat. And if Sladden cannot or will not accept the ideals of Socialism, then let him stick to his bellows and forge. He may yet become a very useful member of the proletariat there. Such ideas only discredit Socialism in the eyes of intelligent workingmen and make it hard for us to win them.

And yet it is this element of society, we are told, this lowest strata of the working class that is to bring about the social reconstruction. Sladden makes the most extravagant claims for this type of men. "His vision is clear," he says, "and he is ever on the alert; his hearing is keen, his nature suspicious, his spirit unconquerable." He is a sort of "king of civilization, who waits and watches at the fast corroding bars that imprison him. Soon he will launch his mighty weight against them and this prison will tumble like a house of cards. With one swoop he will tear away your puny intellectuality, your bogus respectability, and as master of all he surveys he will determine what is right and what is wrong. *Upon his shoulders rests the problem of freeing society.* From his brains (of which we were told a moment ago he has none) must come the plan of the new order."

ACCORDING TO THE MANIFESTO.

Where does Comrade Sladden get this crude idea? Certainly not from Marx. He has referred to the Manifesto. One can hardly believe he has read it. At any rate he has entirely overlooked this striking paragraph: "The 'dangerous class,' the social scum, that passively rotting class thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution. *Its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.*" Marx at least realized that the social revolution would never be brought about by this class. And I believe the experience of the Socialist movement throughout the civilized world has proven that you can never organize the social revolution among the lower classes of society to which Comrade Sladden appears to wish us to restrict the movement.

This idea that the slums cannot be organized for a constructive social revolution runs throughout the literature of the Socialist movement. It is a well understood fact. Says Kautsky, in the Class Struggle: "This

division of the proletariat never yet has shown the least spontaneity of spirit for resistance against the system of exploitation. Cowardly and unprincipled, it readily leaves in the lurch those whose alms it has taken so soon as wealth and power have slipped from their hands. *This class has never taken the lead in any revolutionary movement,* but it has always been found on hand, during social disturbances, ready to fish in troubled waters."

Over and over again this same idea recurs in Socialist writings. I quote the above only as an illustration of what is the universal conception of those who have studied this question. I never heard before of any Socialist writer proposing that the social revolution should come up from among the slums.

It is absurd to limit the force of the social revolution wholly to one class. Much more so to limit it to any section of the working class. But it is worst of all to limit it to the lowest and least resourceful and least revolutionary section of the working class.

THE PROLETARIAT DEFINED.

Who are the proletariat? A great deal has been written by Socialist students upon this question, and from their writings we could get quite long and elaborate definitions. But for us it will be sufficient to say that the proletariat is that class in society that does not own the means of its employment. A more exact and exhaustive statement by Kautsky is as follows: "Workers who are divorced from their power of production to the extent that they can produce nothing by their own efforts and are therefore compelled in order to escape starvation, to sell the only commodity they possess—their labor power."

"To this class (the proletariat) virtually belong in fact the majority of the farmers and small producers and merchants; the little property they still possess is but today a thin veil, calculated rather to conceal their dependence and the exploitation to which they are subjected than to prevent these; any little gust carries away the veil." In other words, while Kautsky implies that a rigid interpretation of the term might exclude these latter elements, nevertheless for all practical purposes they also belong to the proletariat.

We are often upbraided, as we are in this case by Comrade Sladden, for including in our appeal to the working class, the farmers and the small merchants. But as a matter of fact, every inteiligent Socialist, and every writer of any importance in the Socialist movement has always included them. And most of them have been quite as liberal in this matter as any of us in the American movement.

LIEBKNECHT'S VIEW OF THE PROLETARIAT.

We cannot appeal to a better authority than Wilhelm Liebknecht. I want to quote at length from him, and let his words stand as a direct and complete reply to the absurd narrowness of Comrade Sladden's conception. I want to insist, however, that Socialists ought not to be blind followers of authorities. We have brains of our own—we ought to use them. I here and now assert my right and the right of every comrade to see and speak the truth for himself. If Liebknecht, or Kautsky, or Karl Marx himself said what Sladden has said, it would be the right and the duty of every thinking Socialist to challenge the absurdity.

But as a matter of fact, they did not hold such views. Sladden must have developed them out of his inner consciousness.

Says Liebknecht: "We must not limit our conception of the term 'working class' too narrowly. As we have explained in speeches, tracts, and articles, we include in the working class all those who live exclusively or *principally* by means of their own labor and who do not grow rich through the work of others.

"Thus, besides the wage-earners, we should include in the working class the small farmers and small shopkeepers, who tend more and more to drop to the level of the proletariat—in other words, all those who suffer from our present system of production on a large scale.

"Some maintain, it is true, that the wage-earning proltariat is the only really revolutionary class, that it alone forms the Socialist army, and that we ought to regard with suspicion all adherents belonging to other classes or other conditions of life. Fortunately these senseless ideas have never taken hold of the German Social-Democracy.

"But if the wage-earner suffers more directly and visibly under the system of capitalist exploitation, the small farmers and shopkeepers are as truly affected by it, although in a less direct and obvious manner.

"It is true that both small farmers and small shopkeepers are still in the camp of our adversaries, but only because they do not understand the profound causes that underlie their deplorable condition; it is of prime importance for our party to enlighten them and bring them to our side. This is a vital question for our party, because these two classes form the majority of the nation.

"The German Socialists have long understood the importance of propaganda and the necessity of winning over the small shopkeeping class and the small farmers.

"A tiny minority alone demands that the Socialist movement shall be limited to the wage-earning class.

"The frothy and theatrical phrases of the fanatic supporters of the 'Class Struggle' dogma were at bottom a cover for Machiavellian schemes of reactionary feudalism.

"The hyper-revolutionary dress-parade Socialism, that addresses itself exclusively to the 'horny-handed sons of toil,' has two advantages for the reaction. First, it limits the Socialist movement to a class that in Germany at least is not large enough to bring about a revolution; and besides this, it is an excellent way of frightening the main body of the people who are half indifferent, especially the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, who have not yet organized any independent political activity."

"We ought not to ask, 'Are you a wage-earner?' but 'Are you a Socialist?'

"If it is limited to the wage-earners, Socialism cannot conquer. If it includes all the workers and the moral and intellectual elite of the nation, its victory is certain." (Studies in Socialism, Jaures, pages 81-85.)

The essential element that distinguishes the proletariat from the other class, is the loss of the power of self-employment, which reduces the proletariat to dependence upon others and makes him the victim of exploitation. One might say that it is the power to exploit another that is the vital element in the capitalistic system and in capital itself which we seek to destroy. And it is the lack of power to earn one's living without falling a prey to exploitation, arising from capital, that puts one into the class of the proletariat.

INTERNATIONAL PLATFORMS.

This position is fairly well stated in nearly every one of the international socialist platforms. For example, the program of the German Social-Democratic party adopted at Ehrfurt in '91 opens with the statement that the growth of capitalism separates the worker from his means of production, "and thus converts him into a propertyless proletariat." It is the taking away of the means of production upon which he depends that makes the worker proletarian.

The program of the Belgium labor party distinguishing between the proletariat and the capitalist class uses this expression, "the one is able to enjoy the property without working, the other obliged to relinquish a part of its product to the possessing class." It is the inability to protect one's life or one's class from the exploitation by the other class that is the vital matter. The program of the Austrian Social-Democratic party adopted in 1901 brings this out very clearly: "The cause of this unsatisfactory condition lies not in the political arrangement, but in the fact

essentially conditioning and dominating the whole state of society, that *the means of working are monopolized in the hands of individual* possessors. The possessors of the power to work, the working class, fall therefore into the most oppressive dependence upon the possessors of the means of working." And these comrades also saw very clearly that this tendency of capitalism would draw into their movement not only the distinctly wage working classes, but other sections of the common people as well. "The capitalistic development," they say, "will have the effect of depriving ever-widening circles of small industrial employers and peasants, formerly independent, of their means of production, and bringing them as wage workers, employes or debtors into direct or indirect dependence on the capitalists."

Note here the recognition of the fact that a class may become dependent and thus proletarian not only by being driven into the wage-earning class, but also by becoming debtors. This is true of a very large section of the farming classes in America who own their land and machinery. They nevertheless are almost wholly dependent upon the capitalist class by reason of the fact that the excessive burden of debt and mortgage on their farms and machinery puts them into complete dependence. This class of workers might be said technically to belong to the capitalist class because they "own" their means of production. As a matter of fact, however, in any sensible use of the term, they are decidedly proletarian. And there are hundreds of thousands of them in America. We need not quote statistics.

One who wishes to read these platforms should consult "Modern Socialism" by Ensor, which gives a translation of most of the European Socialist party platforms.

A TRUER VIEW.

One of the most careful and satisfactory discussions of the questions of classes in our American Socialist literature is Comrade Ghent's "Mass and Class." In his third chapter, beginning on page 69, he makes the very wise observation: "It is evident that hard and fast lines cannot be set for all the various groups in the great body of workers in gainful occupations."

In his last chapter, summing up his analysis of the various forces that are marshalling their opposition to the present capitalistic regime, he says: "So intolerable is the burden which it entails, that now an opposing class, ever increasing in numbers and ever attaining to a clearer consciousness of its mission, threatens the traders' dominance. A class it has been termed; but it is something more than a class. It is a union

of all men whom the burden and pressure of the trading class regime force to like action in the assertion of their economic claims, and in whom is awakened a common hope of a reorganization of society and a determination to achieve it. At its center is the class of wage-earning producers; and it is flanked by other producers; by such social servants as have risen above the retainer mind; by such of the petty manufacturers and dealers as see in the continuance of the present regime an approaching ruin of their livelihoods; by men of whatever class in whom the love of usefulness, or the love of fellowship, or the passion for social justice is intrinsically stronger than the love of profit or of individual advantage. It is the social minded mass arraying itself against the unsocial minded classes."

Keeping in mind this broad sense of the term proletariat as defined by the best thinkers and writers in the Socialist movement, it is absurd to exclude from our appeal any of the classes who may be susceptible.

TYPES OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The classes that most naturally belong to us, that are as a rule easiest to get and that count for the most when we have them, are the organized trades unionists of the country. Every force of their economic environment and every incident of their experience is drawing them with tremendous power toward the Socialist position. Their training not only in their economic struggles, but in their collective and political experience, limited as it is in America, is nevertheless fitting them more than any other single class, for service in the social revolution.

Next to them, the economic and political experience of the small farmer class in America is preparing them for a part in the revolution. They are oppressed by capitalism in a most persistent and decisive manner. The experience of this class in the political struggles of the past has awakened in them a considerable degree of class consciousness and they have manifested it frequently in political efforts. The economic conditions are pressing constantly harder upon them, and they are the only other class outside of the wage workers who have shown capacity for organization on the economic field in behalf of their class interests, and in America they have shown more capacity than the wage-earning class for organization and effort upon the political field. A very large proportion of them, if not the majority of them, belong "virtually" to the proletariat. The holding of a technical legal title to some land, and machinery, does not by any means give them control of their essential means of production.

A third section of the proletariat and one that has always played

a very decided part in the development of the Socialist movement has been called the intellectual proletariat. These are the educated men and women in the schools, colleges, universities, arts and sciences who find their field of employment constantly restricted and hemmed in by the limitations of capitalism. They do not own the means of their employment. They belong technically and in practically every sense of the word to the proletariat. The majority of them may not be conscious of it. Neither are the wage workers. But they belong there nevertheless. It is for us to recognize this fact, and to make them conscious of it.

Comrade Kirkpatrick, who has recently been made organizer of the Intercollegiate Society, is calling attention to the importance of this element. He quotes from Bebel's "Woman, Past, Present and Future": "Germany has a more numerous proletariat of students and artisans than any other country and a large proletariat in the so-called liberal professions. This proletariat is constantly increasing and carrying discontent with the state of affairs into the highest ranks of society. The capitalistic spirit in these circles is roused to criticism of actual conditions and helps to accelerate the universal dissolution. Thus is the present system being attacked from all sides."

Consider for a moment the vital part which this intellectual proletariat has played in the Socialist movement of the world. From this section of the proletariat we received first of all our Karl Marx, and our Ferdinand Lassalle. It has given us Liebknecht and many other of the greatest men and most effective organizers of the German Socialist movement. It has given us Enrico Ferri in Italy; Vandervelde in Belgium; Jaures in France, and it is giving us a very large proportion of the revolutionary leadership in Russia at this very hour. In America it has given us A. M. Simon, and Aelgernon Lee, editors of the Socialist dailies, Spargo, Work, Stokes, Strickland, Berger, and a host of others too numerous to mention.

With contributions like this from the intellectual proletariat in the history of the movement, it is too late for us to begin to limit our appeal to one small section of the working class.

When we say that the work of the social revolution must be done by the working class, and that Socialism is a working class movement, we should not so limit the meaning of that term as to make our position absurd. There is already a misconception in the minds of most people outside of the Socialist movement, that does us measureless harm and makes our work difficult. Our enemies fling at our movement the very slur that Comrade Sladden has tried to fasten upon us, viz., that Socialism is an unintelligent, uncouth, inhuman struggle on the part of the lowest element in society alone. As a matter of fact, the Socialist movement

today is, and always has been, composed of the very best element of the working classes in every country—the most intelligent, the most progressive, the most unselfish, and the most capable. And also this movement has had in it from other classes some of the brightest minds, the noblest hearts, and the cleanest souls of the age in which we live.

If we are to present Socialism as a product of the gutter and the slums, as made up only of those elements, and to be led by them, then I think we may well despair of its victory. Not only because it never would succeed in enlisting enough voters to capture the powers of government, but also because if it did it would be utterly incapable of organizing a social revolution, much less of administering modern social and industrial life and would very likely put civilization back a hundred years.

No, Socialism is something infinitely better, infinitely richer than that. When we shout the shibboleth, "Workers of the world unite!" let us not restrict our call. Let us proclaim it in triumphant faith to all who rightfully belong to us. We need them all—all the workers.

Under class civilization all literature as well as science may be called toy work; it does not make for human progress directly but only incidentally. The sciences and inventions are exploited by corporations primarily for profit, and all new discoveries merely broaden the field of exploitation and give rise to larger corporations. The toy literature and arts merely serve for the diversion of the same class; they affect the upper surface of society only and do not rise to the dignity of really human productions, because they are not participated in by humanity, nor is it intended that they should be.—Marcus Hitch in Goethe's Faust.



Unionism and Socialism. The Exponent, the organ of the Citizen's Industrial Association, prints on the same page of a recent issue two editorials. One is entitled "Socialism Opposed to Unionism", and serves up the stale slanders against socialism which have been completely answered in millions of propaganda pamphlets. "The industrial army of this country, organized and unorganized," it concludes, "will do well to watch the Socialist, who is crafty and persevering, and whose only hope of success is in disaffection and disorder." The other editorial is entitled "Technical Training and Unionism", and we consider it worth reprinting entire:

It will hardly surprise those familiar with the autocratic principles of trades-unionism to find that they are generally opposed to technical education.

In the struggle for higher wages for labor, meaning, of course, organized labor, they look with coldness, if not with direct opposition, on the efforts that are being made to teach the boy to earn his own livelihood when he leaves school. They would rather take the immigrant from Europe and increase their ranks from these foreign sources than have the demand for expert workers filled by young Americans. While the field for unskilled laborers is well supplied, it is notorious that the demand for skilled labor exceeds the supply and unless technical training on a very extensive scale is resorted to, the time is not far distant when this country will fall seriously behind in the competition with European manufacturers. Organized labor is well aware of this fact, and its opposition to technical training is based on pure selfishness. In some instances the Federation of Labor has given a half-hearted assent to the establishment of such schools conditional on their being run in conformity with the principles of trades-unionism. So we find that the F. of L. in this, as in the matter of obedience to the law, sets itself up as an arbiter and controller of public affairs.

In spite of this opposition and insolent dictation, however, the principle of Sending the Whole Boy to School is growing, and the people are rapidly awakening to its great importance. Thinking men and women everywhere are learning that no boy is the worse for technical education, and the day is not far distant when the School of Trades will be considered a necessary annex to every grammar school in America.

The crafty and persevering socialist welcomes heartily the Exponent's suggestion of technical education for every child. The argument in its favor from the viewpoint of the American capitalist is unanswerable. Trained machinists must and will be had in increasing numbers to meet the competition of German capitalists in the

world market. The opposition of the A. F. of L. to the establishment of the "School of Trades" will be as futile as protests against the introduction of new machinery has proved in the past. But the output of skilled workers from these schools will wipe out the distinctions that still survive between skilled and unskilled laborers. When technical training is free to all, its possessor will be able to command no extra wage; the capitalists will themselves have accomplished what they charge the socialists with plotting, they will place the competent and incompetent on a dead level. Meanwhile the total social product will increase faster and faster, while the consuming power of the mass of the population will diminish. Overproduction, panics and industrial depressions will be intensified beyond anything yet known. Thus the wise and benevolent capitalists will have provided for the "disaffection and disorder" in which the crafty and persevering socialist finds his only hope of success. It is to laugh.

A Choice Specimen. We do not often comment on the obstacles placed in the way of the Socialist movement by its alleged friends, but a leaflet sent us by the publisher of a magazine called "Tomorrow" is such an admirable object lesson in the way *not* to do things, that we make an exception in its favor, and reprint it in full, with a few words of comment:

"TO SOCIALIST LEADERS."

(There are no Socialist leaders. There is a Socialist movement, the movement of the working class, driven by economic necessity to a death struggle with the capitalist class. Socialist writers and speakers, if reasonably intelligent, try to understand the movement and interpret it, but not to "lead.")

Keep the banner of socialism high and let your oratory, books and journals stand as a record down the ages that the toilers of this day did not forget —that they at least talked comradeship and co-operation, even if they made no attempt to live it.

To play at co-operation while the capitalist class controls the essential means of production is somewhat less useful than making mud pies, since the latter process has a certain eductaional value. To talk comradeship in a class society and ignore the class struggle is to play into the hands of the capitalists with more than ordinary stupidity.

It takes self-sacrifice, abstemiousness, fidelity, industry, orderliness, cleanilness and gentleness to *live* socialism.

How many of these capitalist virtues does it take to "live" capitalism?

There should already be many socialist groups living and working in mutual

interest and co-operation, but no—thus far they have the same anxiety for place, prestige and control, the same ideals and ambitions, the same habits, recreations and dissipations as the rich whom they curse and they will so remain until they have experienced the drill and practice of living socially—co-operatively.

One pleasant thing about Marxian Socialism is that its adherents do not need to assume a superior virtue. We recognize that we of the working class have as many failings as the capitalists, perhaps a few extra ones on account of our less favorable environment. It is no doubt true that collectivism, if arrived at through social evolution, would in turn develop more agreeable traits of character. But history shows that if it comes it will come not through agreeable traits, but through the overthrow of the capitalist class.

The talk stage of socialism requires no sacrifice, no submergence of the ego, no higher social conscience. The Christian church has talked charity, generosity, brotherhood, for two thousand years and yet we are a race of grafters—hypocrites, proving the utter failure of the talk method.

Not so bad, but the real moral is that we had better get together and take the things which the capitalists have and we want.

People do not do as told when they are talked to. They do not even live right when they talk right.

Very, very true. So instead of giving moral advice let's "take keer of the stummicks," as our friend Mrs. Nome suggests. If we all could be sure of enough to eat, would it not be easier to "live right"—whatever that may mean?

Local Portland's Proposed Referendum. Local Portland (Oregon) has proposed an amendment to the constitution of the Socialist Party, to be adopted by referendum, and as we go to press it is awaiting the necessary number of seconds before being put to vote. The gist of the motion is that the National Executive Committee, which now consists of seven members, who serve without pay, except $3.00 a day and expenses when actually attending meetings, be changed by making the National Secretary a member of the committee with six others, he to receive $1,500 a year, as at present, and the others to receive $90 a month. It also provides that these seven carry on the work of the office, with such additional help as may be required. Only one member is to be eligible from any one state. Some of the minor details of the amendment are open to criticism. It still makes possible the election of the committee by a small majority of the membership, which was one of the worst faults of the old constitution. No one not nominated by at least ten locals in at least three different states has much chance of election, and if the choice is to be by plurality, the names of those known only by their immediate neighbors should be kept off the ballot. But the chief effect of the motion merits

further discussion. It is that if this proposition carries, no one can serve on the committee who is not willing to give up his previous occupation and work eight hours a day for $90 a month during his term of office. This would exclude all but proletarians, unless in the case of an enthusiast willing to serve on the same terms as proletarians. We believe the plan would work well, but every detail should be thoroughly considered before it is pressed to a vote.

THE UNDERWORLD

By Charles Clifton, Fallston, Maryland

Have you seen the vision hoary,
Do you heed the ancient story
Of the underworld?
With its chorus sadly telling
Of the many ever dwelling
In this underworld.

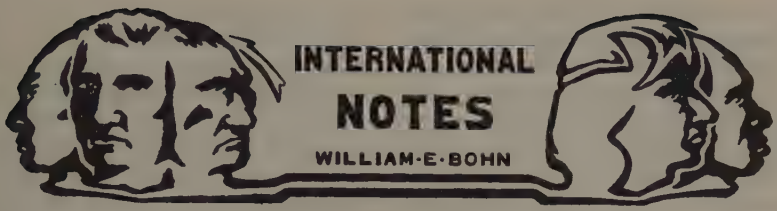
All along the distant ages
Are recorded history's pages
Of the underworld.
Pages that are writ in sorrow,
Pages that will tell tomorrow,
Of the underworld.

There are faces sad and weary,
There are faces hard and dreary,
In the underworld.
Lives that long for some glad token,
Hearts bereft of hope are broken,
In the underworld.

Human shadows moving sadly
Through life's jungle, lowly, madly,
In the underworld.
Of the victims of life's greed,
Oft denied their righteous meed,
In the underworld.

Heroes, truly, there are many,
Cowards, few, there are, if any
In the underworld.
Men and women bearing sorrow,
Hoping for a new tomorrow,
In the underworld.

You who live above the strife
Of this darkened submerged life,
In the underworld.
Think of these thy human kin,
Know for such there might have been
An upperworld.



ENGLAND. Social Democrats and Laborites. An outsider should exercise a good deal of care in discussing the present situation in England. The reports of those on the ground are extremely contradictory. But one thing seems certain, and that is that members of all the socialistic parties are dissatisfied. For example, the local organization of the Independent Labor Party at Newcastle-on-Tyne has come out for Social Democratic tactics. It is easy to see that thousands of union men have been disappointed by the slenderness of the results achieved by their parliamentary group. It has stuck too close to the Liberals, has exhibited a docility unworthy of its great constituency. It has not even dared to stand for universal suffrage.

On the other hand voices of protest are not lacking within the ranks of the Social Democratic Party. Of course it is generally recognized that the S. D. P. has done good service. It has helped popularize a long list of unpopular causes —eight-hour day, free schools, poor-relief, etc. More than this, it has now in the field an army of trained and devoted propagandists. Yet few seem to be satisfied with its position or prospects. With all its fruitfulness the party has not grown. This is how one correspondent of Justice puts the case: "Far too many branches have become crystallized into little groups of propagandists carrying on the usual number of meetings, weekly or monthly, with no thought beyond that, and little or no welcome for the newcomer who is not a budding orator or at least an aspirant to the chair."

There are two ways of escape from this situation. One is the oft suggested union with the Labor Party. This would expose socialism to dangers, but it would bring socialists into vital connection with the great body of the proletariat and so inspire them with the possibilities of new activity. The other plan is more conservative. It is proposed to escape from being a mere propaganda organization by being a better propaganda organization. Central organization, more intelligently managed meetings, etc., might give to the party the power and ambition necessary to its salvation. At any rate it is agreed on all hands that the present conditon of affairs is unsatisfactory.

The New Taff Vale Decision. Again English labor finds itself face to face with the courts. Though already much discussed it seems worth while to set down the outlines of the decision in the case of Osborne vs. The Amalgamated Union of Railway Servants. It is well known that the members of Parliament receive no salaries. So in order to make labor representation at all possible the unions have levied special taxes and so secured funds to support the members sent up to the House of Commons. Mr. Osborne is a prominent union official and at the same time a Conservative. He objected to the special tax, and when in 1904 he was put up for election he appealed to courts for protection. The case was decided against him, appealed, and finally, on the 31st of December, decided in his favor. The basis of the decision is a law of 1871 which outlines the functions of labor unions. It is stated

there that unions have for their province "to maintain wages, make collective contracts and assure to members certain benefits of co-operation." The judges held that this designation of functions is exhaustive, that the unions have no business to meddle with things not nominated in the bond. Hence they have no right to tax their members for the support of representatives in parliament. Just how the unions will meet the decision it is impossible to say. No doubt they will attempt to secure a modification of the law of 1871.

As to India. There are to be reforms in India. Hence there is new excitement. The new measures are the old story over again. Papers have been suppressed, patriots have been exiled, student agitators have been flogged. The Hindus do not take kindly to this sort of treatment; something must be done. So the Liberal government has devised a plan. A few Hindus—the most influential and dangerous ones—are to be taken into the government service. Through their connivance Mr. Morley hopes to keep his policies going. Like most Liberal measures this one gets nobody's approval. Some favor the iron-hand treatment, others advocate real concessions. The significant fact is that the natives themselves continue profoundly dissatisfied. One of their most peaceful leaders has recently said: "The mistake has been to suppose that all the educated Indians want is a few more posts under the government. Very soon it will be made manifest that the discontent lies much deeper, and that, sooner or later, the Indians in a body will be as irreconciliable as we Nationalists are said to be today. We are no party to the campaign of assassination, but we have a cause to further, and if England will not help us to attain our objects in a peaceful manner there will be no peace for England and India. The movement that has begun will go on, and not all the regiments of England will suppress it."

Unemployment. Those Americans who cast longing eyes on English methods of poor-relief will find food for reflection in certain figures recently given out by John Burns. Between March 1st and December 11th, it appears, the number of "worthy" out-of-work registered at the London labor exchanges was 115,195; and the number of situations filled during the same period was 18,172. In thirteen provincial exchanges the number of persons registered was 28,403; the number of situations filled was 3,893. If these exchanges do not furnish work for the majority of the unemployed they at least furnish official proof of the breakdown of capitalism. The government formally acknowledges that society has made no provision for the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of its members.

AUSTRALIA. The First Labor Daily. On November 2nd Barrier Truth, Broken Hill, became Barrier Daily Truth. I told last month of the affiliation of the unions of Broken Hill. The new daily is owned and controlled directly by the combined unions. And a very respectable and useful daily it promises to be. In the first place it is a newspaper, an excellent newspaper, with an exceptionally good foreign service. In its editorial department it continues to stand squarely for socialism and industrial unionism.

The new daily came just in time to serve the miners in a crucial struggle. This occurred early in November. The men decided to strike for better wages and conditions. So well was their move managed by Tom Mann that they won without actually quitting work. At Port Pirie a strike finally took place involving several thousand men. At the time of the publication of the last papers which have arrived this was still in progress.

A Labor Cabinet. Rather unexpectedly Australia finds itself with a Labor cabi-

net at the head of the government. Former Premier Deakin depended on the Laborites for his majority. But he proved so lukewarm in his support of labor measures—especially in his execution of the old-age pension law—that the Laborites deserted him and he fell. The representatives of labor were the only ones who could be asked to form a new government— though, strange to say, they have no majority to fall back upon. So Mr. Fisher became the head of the new cabinet. This is the second time the Laborites have been in power. But they have made such advances since their first period of supremacy that everyone is curious to see what they will do. The Melbourne Worker probably expresses the wish of the most advanced wing of the party when it hopes that the new ministry will be so actively anti-capitalistic that its reign will be short.

GERMANY. Mine Legislation. For a long time there has been serious discontent among German miners. In 1907 there were 11,382 killed or wounded in mine accidents within the empire. There is only a farcical inspection, and conditions in general seem to resemble those with which we are familiar in this country. Recently a great disaster has called attention to the whole matter. What the men have long been contending for is control of mining construction—shafts, tunnels, etc.—by a joint commission of workingmen and operators. The latter are frankly opposed to this plan and, in fact, to any legislation on the subject. The men are very much wrought up just now. In fact the secretary of the Miners' unions prophesies that if no steps are taken 700,000 men will go on strike and so tie up the industry of the entire nation.

SPAIN. La Casa del Pueblo. About a year ago the Socialists of Madrid purchased the ancient seat of the dukes of Pajar. Since then they have rebuilt this historical structure to suit their needs. Thus remodeled it promises to serve admirably as a center of socialist activity. It is to contain co-operative stores and cafes, an assembly hall, and offices for party organizations and labor unions. The dedication took place with characteristic Spanish pomp and ceremony Nov. 28-30. A great procession marched from the old quarters to the new. Pablo Iglesias, the venerable leader of Spanish socialists, delivered a notable address. His review of the development of the national movement closed with the prophecy that within twenty years socialism would be represented by the largest party in Spanish politics. El Socialista, the official party organ, celebrated the occasion with a special edition containing a handsome cut of the building.

HUNGARY. Party Convention. On December 6 there met at Buda-Pest a special convention of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary. For years now Hungarian socialists have been fighting for a modern electoral system; and at one time they thought the battle was won. The King had promised them direct, secret and universal male suffrage. But now, under the influence of the same reactionary tendency which exhibits itself in his aggressive foreign policy, he has taken it all back. The law which he proposes for enactment provides for an indirect and public ballot. Against this the socialists throw themselves with all their force, and the special convention was called to formulate their opinion. A denunciatory resolution was adopted and the people everywhere were called upon to rise in protest. Incidentally the occasion was utilized to denounce the Austro-Hungarian policy toward Turkey.



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

As might be easily surmised, the decision of Justice Wright, in the Federal Court in the District of Columbia, finding Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison guilty of contempt of court for boycotting Bucks stoves and ranges while under a restraining order and sentencing the union officials to serve terms of imprisonment of six months to a year, has stirred up organized labor throughout the North American continent as nothing has done in the present generation. Stacks of resolutions condemning the decision and columns upon columns of editorials and communications in the labor press denouncing Judge Wright and his edict in all languages indicate that the union people have been worked up to a high pitch of excitement and that they are beginning to realize that capitalism has forced a crisis upon them that can no longer be dodged and must be met.

But just what to do under the prevailing circumstances—there's the rub. Unfortunately, judging the sentiment as reflected in the labor press, the great bulk of the organized workers are still of the opinion that to hurl invective at the head of Wright and to denounce government by injunction until they are red in the face will somehow relieve the situation or cause capitalism and its henchmen to relent in waging war upon union labor. Some few officials and newspapers, but only a few, thank goodness, displayed the yellow streak by begging for mercy, supplicating Roosevelt to pardon Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, who contend that they have done no wrong, and, therefore, executive clemency could be interpreted in no other way than that the defendants recanted and acknowledged committing a crime in boycotting an unfair product and standing upon their rights of free speech and maintaining a free press. It is a pleasure to announce that the defendants are not in sympathy with the undignified, cowardly and blubbering proposition of prostrating themselves before the Big Stick and humbly craving the pardon of the chief executive and the master class that he represents.

The three penalized officials, backed by the Federation executive council, have given notice that they will fight the Wright decision to the highest court in the land, and an appeal for voluntary contributions from unions and individuals, friends and sympathizers, has been issued, and the attorneys for the defendants are mapping out an elaborate plan of campaign that will result in this case becoming historic and epoch-making. But the mass of organized workers seem to be in a quandary as to what to do besides resoluting and spending an enormous sum of money in an effort to secure justice at the hands of a prejudiced and hostile judiciary. The union membership seems to have a child-like faith or hope that the United States Supreme Court may reverse the lower court decision and its own famous (or infamous) verdict in the celebrated Debs case. While some of the distinguished legal luminaries who sit upon the Supreme Court bench may be approaching their dotage, it is hardly reasonable or natural to expect that they will decide in favor of Gompers, Mitchell and Mor-

rison at this juncture and acknowledge that they were wrong in sending Debs to Woodstock. Of course, if the defendants happened to be meat trust robbers, railway magnates or oil trust kings there might be some reason to anticipate a favorable verdict, but being workingmen those in the prisoners' dock can hardly hope to escape the enforcement of "lor'n order" as interpreted by the class in control of the various branches of the government.

So we are going in for spending a big pile of money in battling against the inevitable. But it will be money well spent. While the workers may have vague and indefinite or no notions of what to do at present, besides adopting resolutions, getting warm under the collar and contributing their cash to the defense fund, it is a hundred to one shot that they will learn a whole lot as the case drags along. No matter how timid or unresponsive some conservative and reactionary leaders or officials may be, it can be accepted as a settled fact that there will be more general and widespread agitation of a political character than was ever before known on this continent. And it will be class-conscious politics at that. While a fairly good blaze started in last year's campaign, Judge Wright has ignited a prairie fire which, while it was hoped would drive out organized labor, will prove of grave consequences to American capitalism and at no remote period.

The workers have been given another object lesson, and they will learn very rapidly that certain rights they believed inviolate no longer exist. When Debs was sentenced to prison fourteen years ago the progressive element in the labor movement declared that, so far as the workers were concerned, their rights of trial by jury, free speech and free press, had received a death-blow. True, capitalism and its tools did not push their advantage with unseemly haste. Gradually, only here and there, union men were thrown into prison for alleged contempt of court in order that the public might become accustomed to the new era of oppression. Now, by making another test case, capitalism intends to clinch its advantage and establish its claim to govern through its courts once and for all time. Legislative and administrative bodies are to be regarded as subordinate to the judiciary. Indeed, Justice Wright says so in plain terms. He declares bluntly what most judges has held secretly, viz.: that the courts, having established the right to pass upon the constitutionality of laws enacted by Congress and other legislative bodies, are, therefore, superior to the legislative and administrative branches. He declares further that the people do not enjoy the fundamental rights of free speech and free press; that there are no laws guaranteeing such rights; that Congress is merely forbidden to enact laws prohibiting free speech and free press, and, consequently, the various states can take whatever action they choose relating to these alleged rights. This distinguished jurist having taken this advanced position, it naturally follows that he becomes the spokesman of the capitalist class, and that the claim that legislative bodies are subordinate to the judiciary and that our vaunted rights of free speech and free press do not exist in fact become fixed principles that will be upheld so long as capitalism is in control of the political power of state and nation.

The progressive element in the labor movement foresaw these various moves on the chess-board of capitalistic rule—they were bound to follow in logical sequence after the Debs case was decided. The Socialists in the labor movement appealed to their fellow-workers to take political action and strike at their persecutors at the ballot-box, but their pleadings fell upon deaf ears. "We will compel the capitalist class to concede us our rights by resorting to the industrial strike and boycott," the conservatives declared, and the rank and

file nodded assent. "You Socialists are too radical," was the cry. Well, the rains from heaven descend upon the just and unjust alike. Just so the injunction bludgeon is wielded against the radical and conservative alike, and it seems to be the irony of fate that Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, three of the ultra-conservatives, who have been among the most uncompromising opponents of radicalism, should be made to feel the iron heel at this juncture.

But the Socialists in the labor movement will go along with the procession. They will do their share in making every sacrifice required, and one thing more, they will doggedly persist in voting against capitalism and its entire brood of parties, judges and politicians. All that the Socialists will ask in return is, not for privileges for themselves, but that the rank and file discard their timidity and fossilized conservatism and read and think and act along the lines marked out by their fellow workers of every civilized country in the world. The crisis is here; it's do or die now. Socialism or slavery! Which?

As if the United Hatters of North America did not have troubles enough in meeting the enormous financial burden as a result of the damage suit verdict obtained against them by Loewe, the manufacturer at Danbury, Conn., now the Associated Hat Manufacturers have begun what appears to be a war of extermination against that ill-fated union. While the attack of the employers' association is ostensibly directed against the use of the union label only, the fight is really being waged to establish the open shop and cripple the organization by placing a premium upon scab labor. The hatters deserve a lot of sympathy and help. Martin Lawlor, their general secretary, informed me a short time ago that the Loewe case would cost them at least $200,000. That means more than $20 per capita must be paid by these workers who have been the target for a raking fire from the batteries of capitalism for several years. Now, when the manufacturers believe the organization is crippled by the heavy financial load, another attack is made. The bosses imagine that the union is on the ragged edge of bankruptcy and will be unable to support the men who are virtually locked out in withstanding a long siege. It remains to be seen whether their judgment is sound. The hatters are an old organization and good fighters. Their label is universally popular and the firms that will continue to use it will have a tremendous advantage in the market.

The threatened contest between the marine trades and the employers' associations and corporations on the Great Lakes will not be postponed until navigation opens. The struggle has commenced and preliminary skirmishing between the engineers and seamen on the one side and the Vessel Owners' Association and the United States Steel Corporation on the other side is being engaged in. The steel trust, through its subsidiary corporation, the Pittsburg Steamship Company, precipitated the fight by declaring for the open shop and forcing its engineers to sign individual agreements, which many of them did. Then the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association took action by fining those who had signed and expelling several of the ringleaders. The latter thereupon announced the formation of a dual union, one that will probably be acceptable to the trust. The Lake Seamen's Union has also announced that the open shop schemes of the masters will not be acceptable, and it is likely that the guerrilla warfare practiced last season will be abandoned and an open fight made this year. The longshoremen and affiliated branches have not yet announced their policy, but it is pretty certain that they will make common cause with

the engineers and seamen, so that for perhaps the first time in the history of marine organizations there is likely to be combined action in resisting the encroachments of organized capitalism.

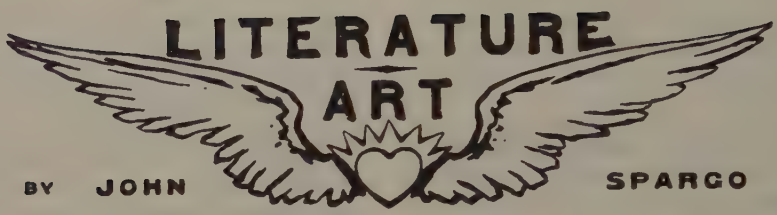
The American seamen are moving in the matter of securing a world's conference and united and harmonious action in approaching the various governments to secure beneficial legislation. The seamen of Europe are federated and during the past year the North Americans were represented at their annual congress. The plan is now to spread out and bring in the Australians, South Americans and probably the orientals. It is not generally known by the public, but it is nevertheless a fact, that the seamen are no better than chattel slaves in many respects, involuntary servitude being rigidly adhered to and supported by many governments.

The attempt to form a federation of clothing workers is meeting with success. During the past month representatives of the United Garment Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers and International Association of Fur Workers conferred and outlined plans to bring about the proposed merger. If the membership approve of the action taken, then it is probable that the Journeymen Tailors' Union will join the federation and later on the hatters, shirt waist and laundry workers, boot and shoe workers, suspender and tie makers, cloth hat and capmakers and other crafts. Thus organized labor is moving steadily and naturally into the broad field of industrialism and gradually the jurisdictional controversies will become a thing of the past.

It was mentioned in last month's Review that ex-Gov. Peabody, the notorious tool of the Mine Operators' Association of the West, had been discarded like a squeezed lemon by those whose dirty work he had performed so faithfully, that he was reported to be financially bankrupt, and that he could not even obtain a poor political job paying a hundred dollars a month. One more chapter should be added to the biography of this repudiated prostitute of plutocracy. In a suit brought by the Portland Mining Company in Colorado, to recover $336,000 for ore alleged to have been stolen by twenty-four distinguished gents operating companies adjoining the Portland mine, the Hon. Mr. Peabody is named as one of the alleged thieves. The Portland Company charges that the ore was extracted from its premises by means of underground drifts, cross cuts, levels and workings extended from the defendants' mines, into the property of plaintiff. Since Peabody has been dumped by the mine operators and is unable to obtain a political job he might engage in the profession of burglary with more success. It is by no means certain that Mr. Peabody will not spend his declining years in jail, where he should have been long ago.

During the past month the United Typothetæ of America, the open shop employers' association in the printing trade, introduced the eight-hour day generally. Thus, after a three years' struggle, the employers have bowed to the inevitable. They might have saved a lot of money and prevented many of their number from going bankrupt if they had taken a reasonable view of the matter in 1905. But they wanted fight and got it. It is only fair to say that the United Typothetæ is almost a total wreck, its activities being confined to a few establishments in the larger cities.

As predicted in the Review, the annual session of the United Mine Workers just closed at Indianapolis, was one of the most exciting in the history of the trade.



Readers of the International Socialist Review who have read Mary E. Marcy's interesting story of proletarian life, Out of the Dump, which was published serially in these pages, will be glad to get it in the attractive little volume in which it has been issued by Charles H. Kerr & Company. In the convenient size of the popular and useful "Standard Socialist Series," the volume is, by all odds, the most attractive which Kerr & Company have yet issued. The volume shows so many improvements, in binding, quality of paper used, and presswork, that one hopes it may be taken as an encouraging New Year promise of a like improvement in the general publications of the firm.

Mrs. Marcy, who is one of the clearest thinking Socialists in the American movement (which I can say the more readily since I do not always agree with her!), unites to an agreeable literary style, a thorough knowledge of the proletarian life which she depicts. Possessing a saving sense of humor, she takes herself seriously, but not too much so, and the good-natured satire which pervades the story adds greatly to its charm. The story professes to be the autobiography of a poor girl, the daughter of a laborer in a packing establishment, who becomes an investigator for a Charity Organization Society, and its special purpose is to satirize professional philanthropy. The little book shows that Mrs. Marcy knows Charity Organization work from the inside. It is a book which deserves to be widely read, and should prove to be a popular gift book. A peculiar feature of the illustrations by R. H. Chaplin is that his women are much better done than his men.

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Alfred Noyes, the well known English poet, has written for "The English Men of Letters Series," published by the Macmillan Company, an admirable little biographical study of William Morris, the Socialist artist, craftsman and poet. Morris's genius was as gorgeous and complete as one of his magnificent tapestries, and through it all he expressed his Socialist convictions and hopes. Mr. Noyes adds very little to the known facts of Morris's life; that was scarcely to be expected. But he has added to our knowledge of the man through a careful and sympathetic interpretation of his thought and work. He is much more sympathetic with the Socialism of Morris than the "official" biographer, Mr. Mackall, and takes occasion to express his scorn for some of that gentleman's cold scholasticism. Those who desire a small, compact account of the life and work of Morris and something like a critical estimate of the place he holds in the history of English literature, will welcome this very satisfying little study.

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Speaking of Morris reminds me of Henry James's essay upon the same subject, which is included in his Views and

Reviews, a collection of his early literary criticisms, edited by Mr. Lee Roy Phillips, and published by the Ball Publishing Company of Boston, a new firm which has taken to the Socialist field with some little booklets by H. G. Wells.

The Henry James of this volume is a very different writer from the Henry James of today. Be it accounted to me for philistinism or otherwise, I am free to say that I like this Henry James—the man of thirty or forty years ago—better as a writer than the Henry James of today, the writer of tortuously involved English. The criticisms—or appreciations—of Morris strike me as being the best in the book. They are at once illuminating and appreciative. After reading the review of "The Life and Death of Jason," I turned once again to that marvellous work and re-read it with a new joy. The papers on Tennyson, Matthew Arnold and George Eliot are also stimulating and well worthy of being reprinted in this form after the lapse of so many years. Upon the other hand, the essay on "Mr. Walt Whitman" might well have been omitted. It is a brilliant example of that asinine priggishness which greeted the good gray poet when "Leaves of Grass" appeared.

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Mr. Andrew Carnegie was good enough to send me recently a copy of his new and much advertised book, **Problems of Today**, published by the Doubleday, Page Company. Apart from the interest which always attaches to the views of a man like Mr. Carnegie, because of his personality, and quite regardless of the views themselves, this volume is interesting because Mr. Carnegie enters once again upon the discussion of Socialism.

Mr. Carnegie's views are in the main well known. He is in favor of a "solution" of the land question (the book was written mainly for British readers) which includes, as an alternative to nationalization, small proprietary holdings and a progressive land tax. He is an ardent believer in the identity of interest existing between capitalist and laborer and would have profit sharing resorted to as the surest antidote to Socialism. Mr. Carnegie gets all his knowledge of Socialism, apparently, from an anti-Socialist publication, called "The Case Against Socialism," a cleverly compiled handbook issued in England. By stringing together a lot of texts torn from their contexts, this work makes Socialism a rather grotesque affair. As an illustration of what happens when one relies as Mr. Carnegie does upon a book of this kind, I may note the case of certain quotations from the writings of Mrs. Phillip Snowden, wife of the English Socialist M. P. Mr. Carnegie uses a quotation which apparently shows that Mrs. Snowden advocates what is commonly called "free love"; upon the strength of Mr. Carnegie's citation, a critic wrote to the New York papers denouncing Mrs. Snowden as a very dangerous person during her recent visit to this country; then Mrs. Snowden replied pointing out that the passage cited by Mr. Carnegie was torn from its context and made to appear favorable to the views she most condemned! Of course, Mr. Carnegie had to apodogize very humbly and confess that he got his "quotation" from the book mentioned. Similar injustice has been done to many other writers whose works are quoted in this handbook, myself among the number.

What I find most amusing about Mr. Carnegie's book—for it is rather an amusing book, I think—is his conception of what constitutes "Individualism." He calls himself an Individualist and complains bitterly thta the Socialists place their labels upon what are legitimate fruits of Individualism, such as factory acts, legislation restricting the hours of labor, income and inheritance taxes, and so on! What sort of "individualism" is this? One wonders how Herbert Spencer would regard it! Mr. Carnegie makes a great deal of pother in throwing a putty ball at the Socialist movement.

It would be a good thing if every Socialist propagandist in America would secure a copy of the anti-Socialist textbook named above, and become perfectly familiar with its contents. **The Case Against Socialism** (Macmillan Co.) is a very shrewdly compiled volume, and I have found in going to lecture various economic associations this season that the opponents of Socialism (of the professional variety) are making themselves thoroughly acquainted with it. To take the quotations in the book one by one, and then compare the citations with the originals, taking care to study the context in each case, will give the studious propagandist a splendid equipment for the intellectual warfare which lies ahead of us. Incidentally, let me add, it would be a very good thing if we could have a volume of similar size setting forth all the objections contained in this, as well as others, and the replies thereto with careful citations of authorities. Such a handbook would be very useful and will doubtless be produced some time. Still, it is well to remember that we want deeper learning than the handbook and index variety; what we need most of all at the present time, it seems to me, is a greater devotion to the study of Socialism. Not merely must we read the classics of Socialist literature, but the literature dealing with contemporary social conditions and problems, and, not less important than these, the literature devoted to the criticism of Socialism.

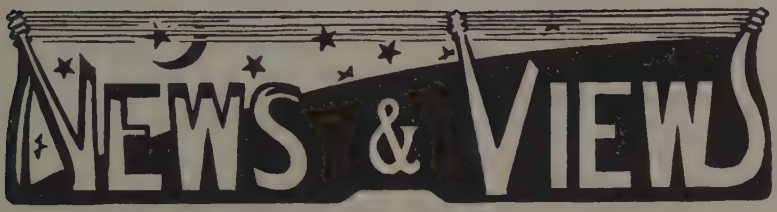
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I have refrained from saying anything about **Debs, His Life, Writings and Speeches**, published by the Appeal to Reason Publishing Company, for the same reason that I am careful not to mention any of my own writings. Although my share in this particular volume is a small one, consisting only of four or five pages in cordial and sincere appreciation of my friend 'Gene,' still, I am to that extent personally interested and restrained by that fact from writing as fully and frankly about the book as I otherwise might.

Having made this "confession," I may without apology say that the collection of the best of the speeches and writings of Comrade Debs in this form is a most useful piece of work. It is well that we can now turn to a collection of his best work. No apology need be offered for the Debs revealed in this volume, either as orator, essayist or poet, for the compilation stands the test of criticism very well, and that is high praise when we remember that the speeches and essays were for the most part the product of a very busy and restless life in which there was scant leisure for careful revision and polishing. The volume was obviously prepared in a hurry, the more's the pity, for had he been given more time Stephen M. Reynolds would have given us a much more satisfactory biographical introduction. The portrait illustrations add greatly to the interest and permanent value of the book, but the same cannot be said for some of the other "illustrations," which might have been left out with considerable advantage.

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Those of my readers who are interested in the problems of public education, especially those who are school teachers, will be interested in one of the Russell Sage Foundation publications, **Medical Inspection of Schools**, by Dr. Luther H. Gulick and Leonard P. Ayres. The book contains a succinct summary of the status of medical inspection in this country and in Europe with a great deal of illustrative material. It is an indispensable book for students of this question.



A PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT. For my part I could never see any necessity of admitting millionaires, ministers or any other "gentleman of leisure" to membership in an organization that calls itself proletarian. For these men to sign an application in which they aver that they recognize the class struggle which means from the proletarian standpoint is nothing short of nonsense. The conception of the class struggle from he standpoint of the proletariat can only be understood by the latter. In the class struggle each class engaged in that conflict has its own feelings, its own conception of justice, i. e., those who are class conscious. If this is not true then the materialistic conception is badly out of joint and then we ought to cut out that much "hated" word "class" and make a general appeal to all comers, in fact, the necessity of proletarian class organization would disappear. We could propagate our "beautiful utopia" to all men in churches and other places of hero worship.

While it is true that conservative unions admit employers to their organizations there are many of the most conservative of them that discourage it and many of them prohibit it. And mind you, among these are those that believe in the "community of interests." They recognize no class struggle consciously, but they refuse membership to employers. But here is the Socialist Party, supposedly a "proletarian movement," admitting labor fleecers of all descriptions and those that live off the "tainted money," to membership.

The materialistic conception teaches the existence of class divisions in society, propertyless proletarians and exploiting possessors. If the proletarian class is to come into possession of its own, then it must eliminate from its organizations, both economic and political, those who are not of their class. Right here a pertinent question arises: What shall we do with those of the class that are in "sympathy" with the proletarian struggle for emancipation. Let these "sympathizers," if they can do any good for the proletarian in his struggle, do it without a voice or vote in the councils of the revolutionary movement.

As for doing any "good," there are some doubts, the awakening proletarian is becoming very much suspicious of obtaining his freedom from people who are exploiting him.

The millionaire, petty bourgeois and ministers can have only two motives for being members of the Socialist Party, the first being out of "sympathy" and the second can be no other than to sidetrack the revolutionary proletarian. As for the truth of the second one only needs to notice the contempt that these "gentlemen of leisure" have for the revolutionary socialists by calling them phrase mongers, atheists or anything to discredit them.

Some "Socialists" say a "millionaire or a preacher joining the party attracts the attention of other people who might otherwise be hostile to it." Socialism if it is anything is a revolutionary force and not a side-show "attraction" and people that can be attracted by little

tin gods can also be disattracted by the same process. That's why thousands of "Socialists" did not vote for Socialism last November because they were so many "Socialist votes" and not Socialists of the much-hated revolutionary type. Then the "Red Special" was another attraction. It "attracted" thousands, that's all. The money could have been better spent disseminating revolutionary literature. I was much amazed that Debs would consent to be carried on it and permit himself to be made an "attraction." There is entirely too much of this reform agitation in the Socialist Party today and if it will not adapt itself to a revolutionary program some other party will be organized that will. If it will not become a revolutionary and distinctly a proletarian party then some other party will be organized that will. For the proletariat is going to achieve its own emancipation or else be sidetracked. The party that calls itself the Socialist Party is not the whole working class, nor is the party that calls itself the Socialist-Labor Party, whose candidate for president based its right for existence on the eighteenth century abstract conception of liberty—bourgeois liberty. The Socialist Party looks strong today, but a conscious proletariat can strike it down the moment it no longer represents it. It may maintain itself for a while when it has lost its character as a class party, but eventually will be swept into the oblivion into which all parties of reform have gone. Therefore we proletarians should not look upon the party as a "sacred thing." Our motto should be "As long as the party represents the proletariat that long we are for it, and when it ceases to do that then we have done with it."

FRED L. SCHWARTZ.

SOCIALISTS AND THE SEX QUESTION. The Review lately returned to a contributor a clever and readable article in which he emphasized certain absurdities and miseries of the present marriage system. His letter in reply to us raises some interesting questions, and we are glad to publish it. He says:

Now, I do not myself think it necessary or advisable for the party, as a political organization, to take any position on religion or the sex question (unless perhaps that our legislative program should include the taxation of church property, divorce by mutual application, the endowment of motherhood during the nursing period, and the repeal of laws prohibiting the dissemination of information on the subject of sex). And I have never once used, in the capacity of a party speaker or party editor, and shall not so use, the party platform or the party press for the expression of views to which the party is not committed and on subjects in regard to which it takes no position except one of neutrality. Moreover, I agree that it is better for the party not to take any specific position on these questions, but to leave them, as far as present society is concerned, to the opinion and action of the individual, and as far as the future is concerned, to whatever evolution will take place under a Socialist form of Society.

But I do not believe it follows from this position that Socialists must refrain from publicly voicing their ideas on these questions at meetings or through publications for which the party is not responsible, nor that contributions to the discussion of these questions should be excluded from the theoretical or literary periodicals of the movement. On the contrary, as one believing not only that the Social Revolution will change the whole face of life but also that the Socialist consciousness changes to a great extent the whole mental outlook and action of individuals within existing society, I protest against the widespread tendency to intimidate comrades out of discussing anything but questions of votes and wages.

After reading grandiloquent quotations that have been going the rounds of the Socialist press for years, such as "He who conceals the truth from motives of expediency is either a coward or a knave," and "What dare we think, that dare we also say"—it is disappointing to be advised to frankly discuss subjects of such importance as religion and marriage only in hushed whispers behind closed doors. In the fear of offending conservative prejudice on these

topics some Socialists become more conservative than the bourgeois themselves. I have observed cases in which the individual's concealment of his real views on these questions reached the point of positive hypocrisy. I believe that the deliberate and calculated concealment of their views has a disintegrating effect on the character of those who practice it and that it undermines their self-respect, intellectual independence, and intellectual honesty. Of course, I refer only to the thousands of Socialists who have radical views on these questions, not to those other thousands of comrades whose views are sincerely conservative on everything but politics and economics.

Of course the main stream and most important phase of Socialism is the political-economic agitation, but at the same time the Socialist movement inevitably brings into being, at least for a great part of its adherents, a new culture, a new literature, a new art, a new attitude toward sex relations and religion and individual freedom, a new conception of life as a whole. In face of this fact it is sickening to see individuals whom one knows to be atheists defending Socialism as the will of God and the fulfillment of Christianity, and other individuals whom one knows to be free-lovers going out of their way to defend "the home and family" against the inroads of capitalism. Nevertheless, such things are seen.

Several cases have come under my observation of intelligent radicals who might have become members, and very valuable members, of the Socialist Party were they not repelled by this overdone and false expediency, which caused a lack of respect for the movement.

You say: "Don't you think we spend our energies wastefully in talking about this subject which is one of the Effects of Capitalism?" I believe that, from the human standpoint, this is like the argument of the "Impossibilist" from the economic standpoint. The "Impossibilist" says that we waste our energies in talking about factory legislation, higher wages and other immediate betterments because such reforms only deal with the effects of capitalism. We reply that every improvement in his condition which the workingman wins, everything that makes him healthier, morally stronger, less hopeless and discouraged, at the same time strengthens him for the Revolution, makes him more intelligent and determined, makes it easier to make him a Socialist if he is not one, and makes him a better Socialist if he is one. Does not the same argument apply to the amelioration of all the miseries growing out of unhappy sex relations, false moral ideals, and ignorance of sex facts?

Child labor in factories is also merely "one of the effects of capitalism," but you would not therefore say that "we waste our time in talking about it." Yet well-informed medical authorities will tell you that sex-slavery and sex ignorance are exercising as destructive an influence on the health of the nation as does child labor—probably even if venereal diseases are left out of account altogether.

There are thousands of unmarried women whose nervous systems are undermined by sex repression dictated by false ideas of "virtue," and thousands whose health fades away without their knowing why because no sex life has ever been aroused in them—because of what has been well called "ingrowing virginity." On the other hand, there are thousands of young men who are ruined by venereal disease acquired from prostitutes. There are thousands of men and women whose health is broken by the ignorant practice of improper means of preventing conception. There are thousands of women who are worn out with the bearing of unwelcome children on account of ignorance of proper ways of preventing conception. There are thousands of married women whose sex life is a continuous and loathesome prostitution to an unloved husband. There are, who knows, how many thousands of marriages in which one or both partners are living a daily deception and becoming habitual liars on account of secret "unfaithfulness." There are thousands of suicides and murders and less noisy tragedies due to the senseless jealousies and futile claims fostered by an unfree conception of love relations. All this, and much more besides, to say nothing of the great fundamental damning influence of their dependence and subjection on the mental and moral development of the whole female sex, except such as have emancipated themselves from old ideas; and the vicious influence on the moral development of man of the undemocratic and authoritarian mentality fostered in him by having a subject sex to intellectually tyrannize over or patronize.

All these things are bound up in our present marriage laws, and prevalent

ideas of morality and immorality, and persist, though in less degree, even in cases where women are economically independent, and could be expected to so persist in a society based on economic equality if it were possible to conceive of such a society retaining either the present marriage laws or the prevailing moral ideals. And just as the Socialist movement modifies capitalism economically long before the coming of Socialism, so the Socialist movement also modifies the ideas of sex morality long before the coming of free society—and in doing so makes the people of the present that much happier and better.

Moreover, it is on the working class that the evils of the present moral ideas and marriage laws fall most heavily. The rich have the advice of well-paid physicians; nurses for children, if they wish children, and leisure for themselves; money and knowledge. If they are unhappy they have money to obtain divorces and make financial provisions. If they have children it is because they wish them, and after they come the mother has someone in whose charge to put them when she wishes to go out. But to the poor, children come whether they are welcome or not; and after they come if the mother works they are neglected—and if they are not neglected she is confined to the house as if she were tied to a post. And if she detests her husband she is tied to him also, and he is tied to her, too, like two prisoners manacled together—they have no money for lawyers and divorces and six-month trips to Dakota, and what would become of the children?

Now it is not possible for social reforms to accomplish the emancipation of the working class without establishing Socialism. But, given knowledge and emancipated ideas, it is possible for men and women living within existing society to approximately emancipate themselves as regards their sex relations, which include so considerable a part of their soul life, their emotional and spiritual existence, and also have so much to do with their bodily health.

If the sex life, the personal heart life, of revolutionists were more free and joyous, if they breathed an atmosphere of liberty and spontaneity, free from religious and moral superstitions, if they became now as much like the free people of the future as possible, would they not be that much more ardent and joyous and unceasing workers for the Great Revolution? And if former non-Socialists—especially women—who had suffered grievously from the evils of the marriage system, or been intellectually blindfolded by religious teaching, were first led into the light of more emancipated ideas by some of us Socialists, would not they serve and glorify Socialism forever? Both these things are already happening here and there.

Why, then, should independent propaganda on such questions be discouraged or attacked so long as it is not demanded that the movement as such take a position on these questions which would exclude more conservative comrades? If the Christian Socialists have a right to their God and the monogamists to their eternal marriage, then surely, in a revolutionary movement like ours, the complete revolutionists have, to say the least, an equal right to their agnosticism and their free union.

They do these things better in France, Italy, Russia, Germany, etc., and it is not surprising that some of our Continental comrades are astonished at the fear of offending the institutions of bourgeois society which is displayed by some American Socialists who wish to make our movement so very "respestable" that it will offend no one. No revolution was ever respectable until it won, and when the Socialist movement is "respectable" it will be dead, like many other respectable things. Yours for all the revolutions.—COURTENAY LEMON.

And still we are unconvinced. When Comrade Lemon implies that sex superstition and child labor occupy the same position in our propaganda, because they are alike the effects of capitalism, he overlooks a most important distinction. Child labor is recognized as an evil by the working class generally. Our task relative to it is the easy one of pointing out its extent and pointing out that the one possible cure is the overthrow of capitalism. Just so with low wages and the difficulty of securing employment. No one claims they are beneficial; our opponents merely claim they are necessary evils, while we need only prove they are needless and that the revolution will sweep them away.

But it is different with sex superstition. Its roots are deep in economic conditions which have for the most part

passed away; yet millions who suffer from it are nevertheless passionately attached to it. Arouse their passions on that subject and they forget more important matters and foam with rage. Moreover history shows that superstitions are never overthrown by direct attack; they are undermined by the resistless progress of the mode of production. When economic freedom is won, when a generation grows up with full opportunity to develop, superstitions will crumble at the first touch. Meanwhile any premature attacks on them are as likely as not to defeat their own purpose by diminishing the vigor of our fight for the things the capitalists have and we want, and to strengthen the forces of reaction by driving superstitious wage-workers into their camp.

For the rest, if marriages are unhappy today, it is usually from economic pressure, on wife, or husband, or both. Do away with this, and it is quite possible that happy love-marriages may come about with very little change in institutions.

WHAT ONE BOOK DID. Upon reading a book called **Common Sense of Socialism** my eyes got brighter, my heart got bigger, my soul became joyful over the thought of a way out. I could see where I was at. But I could not see my way out. I would go to church; the preacher would say, "Be good, be good!" Under these conditions a man cannot, I would say. Might as well sit me on a hot stove and say, "Be still"—one was as possible as the other. I had preachers tell me Socialism is an antichrist arising, leave it alone, so I was afraid of Socialism. But I said, "I'll investigate a little, anyhow," so I called at Socialist headquarters and asked for a book explaining the subject. They handed me a book called **Common Sense of Socialism,** 25 cents worth. I began to read, a hope began to revive, and when I got through reading I was a Socialist. The best spent 25-cent piece I ever did slave out, thanks to Mr. Spargo, and now I shall educate myself in this movement so I can teach and explain to my fellow men that our duty is to support the Socialist ticket—that when election day rolls around I may be able to march to the polls with an army of true-hearted Socialists, for the purpose of destroying the powers of an awful hell. My object in writing is that I would like to take a course of studies in Socialism. As you are in a position to prescribe, I trust you for a list of books and prices, numbering 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc., as I would have to buy books separately, not being able to do otherwise.—JAS. E. AKINS, St. Louis.

(To one who has read "The Common Sense of Socialism," which as our correspondent thinks is a fine book for beginners, we suggest (1) Kautsky's Social Revolution, 50c; (2) Engels' Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, 10c; (3) Marx's Value, Price and Profit, 10c; (4) The Communist Manifesto, 10c; (5) Untermann's Marxian Economics, $1.00; (6) Marx's Capital, Vol. 1, $2.00. But all who can spare the time should follow the full course mapped out by Joseph E. Cohen, whose fourth lesson appears in this issue of the **Review.** We can still supply the December and January numbers, and the first lesson is reprinted as a leaflet which will be mailed free to any one requesting it.—Editor.)

UP THE DIVIDE. We are just in receipt of a small prospectus of the new monthly magazine, "Up the Divide," to be published in Denver, Colorado, by Dr. Duren J. H. Ward, under the joint editorship of Dr. Ward and Rev. William Thurston Brown, A. B. and B. D. of Yale University. The small prospectus appears under a charmingly artistic cover and if the promised contents meet with our expectations the magazine has come to supply a long-felt want. Rev. William Thurston Brown, who is now Field Secretary of the American Unitarian Association for the Rocky Moun-

tain Department, is well known among socialist circles, as the foremost interpreter of the New Religion, which recognizes the universal law of evolution and finds only harmony between the progress of science and religion. We quote the following from the prospectus:

We want to try to—

Sum up the new truths,

Encourage the new science,

Quicken the new reasoning conscience,

Make way for the new aspirations,
Point mankind forward, not backward,

Replace old gloom with new hope,

BROADEN RELIGION to coincide with knowledge,

Widen Sociology till it plans for mankind instead of individuals.

The subscription to "Up the Divide" will be $1.00 a year.

TOO INFLAMMATORY. This was the criticism of Brigham H. Roberts, the Mormon politician, on a short speech made by our comrade William Thurston Brown at a protest meeting in behalf of the Russian exiles at the Salt Lake Theater last month. Mr. Brown challenged Mr. Roberts to a joint debate, but the challenge was not accepted. At Unitarian Hall January 9th, Mr. Brown addressed a large audience attracted by the controversy, and in the course of his lecture he said:

We can see today that the sacredest interests of mankind in the eighteenth century depended upon the revolutionary spirit and ideals of that time. Shall it not be possible for us now to see that upon the revolutionary spirit of the twentieth century, the revolutionary spirit which has made the story of the Russian revolution a veritable gospel, depend the sacredest interests and issues of this age?

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THEORY OR FACT? Those comrades who are accustomed to speak somewhat apologetically of Marx's theory of surplus-value should be sure they have grasped the full significance of this workingman's interpretation of economic phenomena. I beg the indulgence of such comrades for a brief space, while I attempt to set before them a demonstration of this theory, improperly so called; for if any economic "law" deserves to be so named it is this law laid down by Marx, that the value of a commodity is determined by its labor-cost of reproduction.

To prepare the ground for our inquiry let us first state Ricardo's "Law of Rent," agricultural rent: "Rent is that part of the product in excess of the labor-cost of the whole product; and its value is determined by the labor-cost of the costliest part of the necessary supply at the given time and place." (I quote from memory.)

In almost every country there are semi-barren or exhausted soils, and thin or inferior veins of ore that laborers may work rent-free, and they do this if the value of the product is equal to current wages. Clearly, the value of the product from this no-rent land is all labor, is all the product of labor; and since it finds a market, we asume it is a necessary part of the supply, and has an exchange-value equal to all other like portions of the whole supply. That is to say, consumers being unable to produce, or reproduce, any part of the necessary supply for less than the labor-cost of the product from no-rent lands, sellers, all of them, exact and receive this value, regardless of the fact that most of them secured their product with much less labor-cost; in all of which cases, the surplus product, having value, is to all intents and purposes just what Marx calls it—surplus-value; though Ricardo calls it rent. But in every case and any case, it is value produced by labor, its value is determined by the amount of human labor incorporated in its reproduction, it is value over and above the wages of the labor that produced it, and it is just as scientific to call it surplus-value as it is to call a spade a spade.

Economic inquiry must embrace both the production and the distribution of wealth. Men produce wealth to satisfy their desires, and they produce it by applying their labor to natural resources. They distribute wealth on the terms and conditions imposed by the owners of the natural resources, plus the terms imposed by the owners of the labor-power used in production. The terms that are "imposed" by the owners of labor-power are: that they be given enough of the product to keep them alive and in working condition and to enable them to rear a fresh supply of laborers. That is, in most cases both of these conditions are insisted upon; but in the United States today, the employing classes are released from the latter condition. They get full-grown, gentle-broke laborers for a steamship fare across the ocean, without any of the expense of raising them. The laborer can, then, be set on one side as "the necessary cost" of that production and distribution in which he has no more voice than the natural agents with which he works. The laborer eliminated—he is used to it, don't give him a thought—we come to ascertain how wealth is distributed.

I think it will be admitted that the total product of labor, as that product comes from the extractive industries belongs, minus labor-cost, to the owners of the natural resources used as agents in its production. Also, I think it will be admitted that, just as Marx prophesied, there is a general movement in all the extractive industries by the owners of

which he works. The laborer eliminated—he is used to it, don't give him a thought—we come to ascertain how wealth is distributed.

I think it will be admitted that the total product of labor, as that product comes from the extractive industries belongs, minus labor-cost, to the owners of the natural resources used as agents in its production. Also, I think it will be admitted that, just as Marx prophesied, there is a general movement in all the extractive industries by the owners of the sources of production to gain control of the industrial process from start to finish.

Heretofore the plebeian task of superintending the manipulation of raw materials in manufactories has been delegated by the landlord class to "tradesmen," whose sole function in life has been the preparation of commodities for their lordships' consumption. All this is rapidly changing. The tradesman will soon become the hired underling of the owning class. Conceding then, that the total product of industry is soon to be absolutely controlled by the owners of the earth, there is no escape from the conclusion that they will distribute that product to suit themselves, among themselves, to be consumed by themselves and those who serve them. And since all the values that then exist will still be, as now, produced by labor; and since labor's share will be board and clothes, all values over and above these things are, for the laborer, surpluses, surplus-values; and since Marx elaborated the theory—or FACT—of surplus-value for the benefit of the working-class, it is matter of small moment to that class what name the owning class give to the products they keep.



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NOTE—I am personally acquainted with the business management of the American College of Mechano-Therapy and can recommend the institution as being thoroughly reliable.—E. C. HOWE, Adv. Mgr., International Socialist Review.

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Immense Profits are made in this fascinating business. The McCreery Brothers started only a few years ago without a cent. They actually borrowed $100 to start with. Today they have thousands of dollars. They own their own large factory, have extensive interests in others, and do an enormous business. They have started a few other men in the glove business, and they will help you to start too, furnishing you with tools and equipments free, and teaching you the secrets of the business.

Our New Plan makes it easy for any man to start in business for himself. We give you free the necessary tools, such as expensive handmade dies, cutting table, maple cutting block, turning machine, cloth rack, rawhide maul, knife, pattern and equipment. No matter how small or how large your town—no matter what section you live in—there is always room for a factory. Any merchant can make the gloves he sells himself, and soon be making gloves for other stores.

No Experience is required. We teach you the secrets of the business and furnish you tools and equipments free. We have taken men who had never had a day's practical business experience, and started them on the road to wealth. These men started in a modest way, but soon built large factories, work lots of help, have a big stock of cloth and machinery on hand and a good balance in the bank. What these men have done, you can do.

Unlimited Demand — There is no class of goods for which there is such a steady demand as for canvas gloves and mittens. They are the popular glove for the masses. Everybody uses them—the farmer, the mechanic, the doctor, the lawyer, the merchant, the laborer—in all sections of the country—from Maine to California, and from Minnesota to the Gulf. There is actually room today for ten canvas glove factories where we only have one now.



Our interesting book which we send free. Write for it.

We Mean Business when we say we furnish tools free, we mean exactly what we say. All we ask is that you buy your cloth from us, but we don't even ask that unless we can furnish it as low or lower prices than you can buy elsewhere.

Don't Miss This opportunity, even if you have to borrow the small amount of money necessary to buy a stock of cloth to start with. You should be able to pay it back in a very short time and have money in the bank besides. There will be many fortunes made in the canvas glove business in the next few years. You can start a factory in any spare room at home, or small store room, and enlarge it as your business demands.

This Liberal Offer Your Stepping Stone to Success

We Start You in a business of your own, right in your own town. Every man, no matter how humble, is entitled to at least the profits of his own labor. If you have the ambition to better your condition—to be somebody—to provide for yourself and family—to enjoy success, happiness and prosperity—we can help you.

Come With Us and let us start you in this profitable, legitimate business, which, with a reasonable amount of light work and attention, should make you a prosperous factory owner in a very short time. The small amount of money which is required to be invested (from $50 upwards) is spent entirely for cloth, supplies and other necessities of the business. We furnish you the tools and equipment free. There is no waste material, no dead stock. Every yard of cloth can be turned back into cash.

OPPORTUNITY IS KNOCKING AT YOUR DOOR

Here Is a Chance where you can with our help start on an honorable career as a successful business man. You cannot possibly lose any time by investigation, and it may mean great financial success for you. **Do not delay.** Today the opportunity is open to you; tomorrow may be too late. Our ability to assist others in starting factories is limited to our ability to furnish them with raw material, and just as soon as enough have become associated with us to absorb our capital, we shall be obliged to withdraw this offer. **IT IS SO VERY EASY TO GET THE FULL DETAILS OF OUR PROPOSITION. SIMPLY SIGN AND SEND US THE COUPON.**

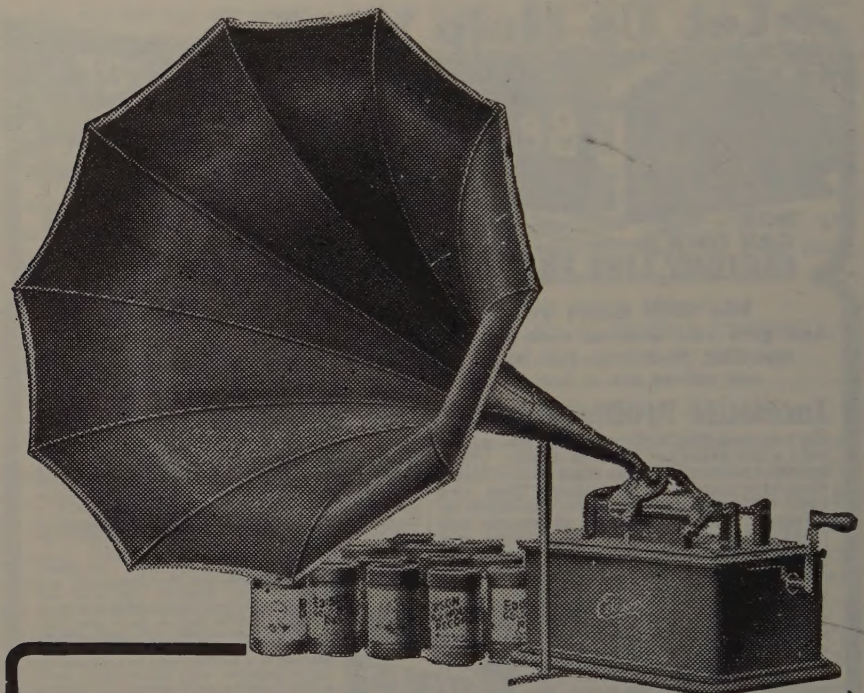
McCREERY MANUFACTURING CO.
928 Dorr Street, Toledo, Ohio

CUT THIS OUT AND MAIL TODAY

McCREERY MANUFACTURING COMPANY, 928 Dorr Street, TOLEDO, OHIO
Gentlemen: Please send me without cost a copy of your book and full information about starting in the glove business.

Name.....

Address.....



WHY DON'T YOU GET THIS PHONOGRAPH ON

FREE TRIAL?

For almost three years I have been making the most liberal phonograph offer ever known! I have given hosts of people the opportunity of hearing the genuine Edison Phonograph right in their own homes without a cent of cost to them.

So far you have missed all this. Why? Possibly you don't quite understand my offer yet. Listen—

My Offer I will send you this Genuine Edison Standard Outfit (the newest model), complete with one dozen Edison Gold Moulded Records, for an absolutely free trial. I don't ask any money down or in advance. Absolutely nothing but a plain out-and-out offer to ship you this phonograph and a dozen records on a free trial so that you can hear it and play it in your own home. I can't make this offer any plainer, any clearer, any better than it is. There is no catch about it anywhere. If you will stop and think just a moment, you will realize the high standing of this concern would absolutely prohibit anything except a straightforward offer.

Why I Want to Lend You This Phonograph:

I know that there are thousands and thousands of people who have never heard the Genuine Edison Phonograph. That is why I am making this offer. I can't tell you one-twentieth of the wonders of the Edison, nothing I can say or write will make you hear the grand, full beauty of its tones. **The only way to make you actually realize these things for yourself is to loan you a Genuine Edison Phonograph free and let you try it.**

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BUY IT:

All I ask you to do is to invite as many as possible of your friends in to hear this wonderful new style Edison. If not a single one of them orders a Phonograph (and this sometimes happens) I won't blame you in the slightest. I shall feel that you have done your part when you have given these free concerts. You won't be asked to act as our agent or even assist in the sale of a single instrument.

IF YOU WANT TO KEEP IT

—you may do so, but it is NOT compulsory. I am asking you merely to send for a free demonstration. If you do wish to keep it, either remit us the price in full, or if you prefer, we will allow you to pay for it on the easiest kinds of payments.

OUR EASY PAYMENT PLAN

I have decided on an easy payment plan that gives you absolute use of the phonograph while paying for it. $2.00 a month pays for an outfit. There is absolutely no lease or mortgage of any kind.

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